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A

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,

FROM ITS

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

A

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,

FROM ITS

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

BY EUROPEANS

TO

T H E P R E S E N T T I M E .

BY

ROBERT R. HOWISON.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY TO THE
PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY & HART.

1846.



Entered, according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1846,

By ROBERT R. HOWISON,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, in and for
the Eastern District of Virginia.

C. SHERMAN, PRINTER,

19 St. James Street.

TO
THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA,
This Volume,
CONTAINING
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THEIR STATE,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

VIRGINIA was the earliest settlement made by men of the Anglo-Saxon race upon the soil of America. Her infancy was attended by events which have imparted to her all the interest that the Romance of Real Life can afford. In her very childhood she presented a model of those republican governments, which have since yielded happiness to millions in the Western Hemisphere. And in more mature years she has powerfully contributed, by her statesmen, her precepts, and her example, to give character to the great confederacy of which she is a member. The virtues and the faults, the glory and the shame of the "Old Dominion," have never been without influence upon the whole American Republic.

Her history then deserves to be studied. Several writers have devoted attention to her progress, and some of their works possess merit which ought to have introduced them

to general notice. But they have been read by the few and neglected by the many. The Histories of Smith, Beverley, Keith, Stith, Burk, and Campbell, are either entirely out of print, or so nearly so, that they cannot be obtained without much difficulty, and “the young men of Virginia remain more ignorant of the career of their own state, than of that of Greece or Rome.”

The author of the volume now offered to the public, was induced, by a sense of his own ignorance, to turn his thoughts to the sources from which might be drawn knowledge concerning his native state. He formed the plan of writing her history in four parts—

PART I. To embrace the period from the Discovery and Settlement of Virginia by Europeans, to the Dissolution of the London Company, in 1624.

PART II. From 1624, to the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

PART III. From 1763 to the Adoption, by Virginia, of the Federal Constitution, in 1788.

PART IV. From 1788 to the present time.

The volume completed, contains the first and second parts, under this arrangement. It is believed that the history of our Revolutionary struggle will most naturally begin with the measures of the English Parliament which were adopted immediately after the Peace of Paris. The remainder of the work may be embraced in another volume, but when it can be completed is, at present, uncertain.

In writing the Colonial History, the author has endea-

voured to draw from the purest fountains of light the rays which he has sought to shed upon his subject. Convinced that *truth* should be the first object of the historian, he has laboured with earnestness in examining, sifting, and comparing the evidence, printed and in manuscript, upon which he has relied. Every material statement of fact has been verified by a reference to the original authority, in order to guide those who may wish to test the accuracy of the work.

In deducing inferences from facts, he has used all freedom, and has depended solely upon his own judgment. To err is human,—nor can the author flatter himself with the hope either that he has avoided error, or that he will escape censure; but conscious of no desire save that of giving an impartial delineation of his subject, he is tempted to hope that candour will find at least as much to approve, as prejudice will seek to condemn.

In preparing this volume, he has been aided by several gentlemen, who have placed within his reach rare books and treasures in manuscript, which were indispensable to his purpose. To these friends he need not now do more than render his thanks. It will not be necessary to name them, inasmuch as, should they read these lines, they will at once recognise his object, and accept his gratitude. To Gen. William H. Richardson, Librarian of Virginia, he is under obligations which he cannot refuse to acknowledge. This gentleman has given him access to the Library of the

State, and has permitted him to consult the works there found, as freely as he could have desired. The office of the General Court has also been open to him, and its records have in many cases proved valuable guides in his search for truth.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,

August 29th, 1846.

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PART I.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

Obligations of the world to Columbus—His claim to original discovery disputed—The Northmen—Madoc of Wales—Merit of Columbus—Henry Seventh of England—Voyage of John Cabot—Of Sebastian—Causes of delay in colonizing North America—Henry Eighth—Edward Sixth—Mary—Character of Elizabeth—Her patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert—Sir Walter Raleigh—Voyage of Amidas and Barlow—They land on Wococon Island—Charms of the country—Manners of the natives—Return to England—Elizabeth bestows a name—Sir Richard Grenville—Attempts at settlement—Ralph Lane's excursion up the Chowan river—Thomas Heriot—Conflicts with the Indians—Arrival of Sir Francis Drake—The settlements deserted—Grenville's small colony—John White arrives—Birth of Virginia Dare—White returns to England—Raleigh extends to others the benefit of his patent—Governor White comes again to Roanoke, but finds not the settlers—Their probable fate—Death of Grenville—Of Walter Raleigh.

IF, in the present age, a child of science could discover and unfold to our view a world connected with that in which we live, yet heretofore invisible, teeming with the treasures of nature, unimpaired in original freshness and beauty, and peopled by beings to whom all art seemed unknown, we would hail this discovery as approaching the miracu-

lous, and its author as destined to immortality on earth.

Hence we may conceive something of the astonishment that pervaded the mind of Europe^a when it was first announced that a navigator had crossed the mysterious expanse of water which had so long bounded her hopes and excited her fears, and had returned to tell of a world that she had never known before.

He who really accomplished this great object, may be reckoned among the men to whom our race should rejoice to render all that gratitude could suggest, or that generosity could give; and if Columbus in life was loaded with chains, and in death has been deprived of the privilege which the heart of a father seeks when he would give his name to his child, it has been because man is neither perfect in judgment, nor untainted in virtue.

It may be possible to attach too much importance to the discovery either of a great truth in science, or of an exhaustless source of physical wealth upon our earth, but it would be difficult to express a measure of merit greater than that which is due to the navigator of Genoa. He who would compute his worth must belong not to any age that has succeeded him, nor to the time in which we live, nor to any era that may soon appear.

He must live near the point at which we have reason to believe that this world will close its final scene; and as he looks back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and sees what America has done

^a Robertson's *America*, i. 64.

in affecting the destinies of man, in developing the human mind, in pointing out the road to national happiness, and in leading on the hosts which are at last to be united under one Divine Director, he may catch some faint view of the glories which should encircle the name of Columbus.

If it be feared that love to his native land may exercise an influence upon an American so strong as to cause him to view his country's progress with too sanguine hope, and her discoverer with undue enthusiasm, we would be tempted to refer to the words of an English historian, proverbial for his distrust of democracy, for his love to the monarchical institutions of his country, but whose prophetic eye had been accustomed so long to regard the rise of empires and the fall of kings, that he had learned to look down the vista of the future and behold the fates of nations. He has spoken of America, and pointed to her shores as the hope of the world, even of that nation to which his heart was most firmly bound,—and the warmest patriot in the “great Republic” could hardly desire for his country renown more substantial, or influence more extended, than that which this impartial mind has declared to await her.^a

From the immense field of American history

^a Alison's History of Europe, ii. 407. “But if the sun of British greatness is setting in the old, it is from the same cause rising in renovated lustre in the new world. * * * In two centuries the name of England may be extinct, or may survive

only under the shadow of ancient renown, but a hundred and fifty millions of men in North America will be speaking its language, reading its authors, glorying in its descent,” * * * The whole passage is worthy of attention.

which the genius of Columbus has developed, a portion has been selected for the subject of the following pages that would seem, at first sight, to bear but a small value when compared with all the interests of the powerful republic of which Virginia is a part; but it will not be difficult to show that her history merits a separate consideration, and that from an early period of her existence as a colony, she has exerted an influence upon the fate of America that may well draw to her progress the notice of all who hope to find in the past, lessons for future generations.^a

In tracing the events which first led Europeans to her shores, it will not be the duty of the historian to speak of every voyage that was undertaken, or of every discovery made, during the century succeeding the first voyage of Columbus to the western world. These successive discoveries opened an immense tract of coast and of island extending from the frozen sea of the north to the more temperate ocean in the region of Cape Horn, and many of them had little influence in determining the fate of North America.^b But it will be a task appropriate to our subject to award to him who deserves it the merit of having opened the seal which none before him had dared to touch, and led the way along which others of more humble name were to pass in founding a nation's greatness.

^a Burk's History of Virginia— 102, 199; Tytler's General History, Preface; Tytler's General History, 474, 475; Guthrie's Geography— 476: continuation by Nares. improved, ii. 644.

^b Robertson's America, i. 85, 101,

Since this discovery has been made, many have been found willing to deny to the noble Genoese his right to its exclusive honour. Nations and men unknown to fame have been industriously marshalled in array against him, and pretensions have been advanced in favour of those who, could they themselves have spoken, would have declared their unworthiness of the glory which he has won with so enormous hazard.^a But perhaps nothing could more fully vindicate the title of Columbus than the failure of all attempts to prove that America had been reached by adventurers from Europe before his day; and those whose misspent industry has been employed in drawing from the mouldering records of the past evidences in favour of the navigators of Iceland or of Wales, might with justice be rewarded with the lands explored by their favoured heroes of the ocean.^b

(1002.) The narrative upon which rests the claim of Norway and Iceland to the discovery of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, five centuries before the great voyage of Columbus, is traditional in its form,

^a Might in opinion stand
His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge must earn.
But they
Dreaded not more the adventure than * *
PARADISE LOST, Book II.

^b Read Irving's Columbus, ii.—
Appendix, 270, 276; Bancroft's
United States, i. 6. Mr. Frost, in
his first history of the United States,

adopted the views of Irving, Bancroft, Leslie, Jameson, and Murray, and rejected the claim of the Northmen; but since the appearance of certain "*antiquitates Americanæ*" his belief has undergone a revolution, and in his Pictorial History of the United States, i. 17-28, he gives to the Scandinavian navigators all the honour they could ask.

and so far inconsistent in its statements that it would be difficult to declare to what land it accompanies its actors. The ingenuity of learned minds has been employed in reconciling its facts, and in accommodating its descriptions to the soil, the productions, the climate, and the people of northern America;^a but it would be more prudent to suppose that Vinland and Greenland were one and the same, than to believe that the rude voyagers of the eleventh century, without chart or compass, and exposed to the storms of northern regions, passed in safety the terrific seas which separate the western islands of the old world from the eastern outposts of the great American continent.

(1170.) But if the claim of the Northmen be more than doubtful, the pretensions that have been advanced in favour of Wales are not better supported.

Madoc, son of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North Wales, may have existed, may have quarrelled with his brethren concerning the division of their rugged patrimony, may have wandered away to sea and sailed west, "leaving the coast of Ireland so far north that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things;"^b but it would require a mind steeped in credulity to believe that he landed on the shores of the western world.^c Though the tradition which speaks of him be of

^a Belknap's American Biography, i. 105-115.

^b Hakluyt, iii. 1, edition 1600; quoted in Belknap's American Biography, i. 129.

^c "But where this place was, no history can show." Captain Smith thus unceremoniously dismisses the claim of Madoc.—History of Virginia, i. 79.

unquestionable antiquity, yet it affords no sufficient basis for belief that he visited America,^a and nothing but national prepossession and jealousy of Spain could have induced the authentic Hakluyt to lend his favour to this fable.^b Those who by their burrowing propensities, have discovered among the Indians of North Carolina a dialect of the Welsh,^c will not find much difficulty in receiving Madoc as the forerunner of Columbus, and to their guardianship the fame of the Welsh navigator may be safely committed.

But even should it be acknowledged that the hardy seamen of the North, or the adventurer of Wales, did in fact reach the coasts of the new world, this will not in any manner detract from the merit of the Genoese navigator. The voyages of Biron and of Madoc were the result rather of accident than of design; they were followed by no permanent settlement, and their very memory would have been lost but for the industry of modern times. We have no reason to believe that Columbus had any knowledge either of their attempts, or of their alleged success,^d nor do we find in his notes preserved by his son any reference to these prior adventures. His soul was not kindled into flame by the breath of any mortal. His views were his own—conceived in solitude, matured by incessant study and profound thought—and when once they

^a Harris's *Voyages*, ii. 190.

^b Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 137.

^c Burk's *History of Virginia*, iii. 84-87. Belknap mentions this dis-

covery, and comments upon it with his accustomed good sense.—*American Biography*, i. 134.

^d Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 86.

had taken full effect upon his mind, they prevailed to the exclusion of all inferior purposes. "He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had beheld the promised land."^a His hopes were not the result of excited fancy, nor of that dreamy enthusiasm which peoples the air and fills all space with fairy beings, but were founded upon the intense labour of a powerful and philosophic intellect. He firmly believed that by sailing continuously westward from Europe, the adventurers must finally attain either to the extreme eastern projections of Asia, or to the shores of a fourth and hitherto unknown continent.^b

He based this belief upon three grounds:—First, upon the nature of things: for the spherical form of the earth was now generally received; and though the laws of specific and of general gravity were but the conjectures of the learned few,^c yet a mind trained to habits of thought easily adopted the belief that some counterbalancing weight of land had been placed by the all-wise Architect in opposition to the immense continents known to antiquity. Secondly, upon the authority of learned

^a Irving's *Columbus*, i. 25.

^b Delaplane's *Repos. Disting. Amer.*, i. 6. In the brief but well-written life of Columbus here found, it is stated that he rejected the idea generally received that India extended greatly to the east, and believed "the existence of a fourth continent washed by the waters of

the Atlantic Ocean;" but it seems most probable that the great voyager had not yet shaken off the fetters of the age in which he lived. Compare with Irving's *Columbus*, i. 25, Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 161–164, Robertson's *Amer.*, i. 44.

^c Malte Brun's *Univ. Geog.*, t. xiv., cited in Irving's *Columbus*, i. 25.

writers. Marco Polo had travelled into Asia; and, half a century after, Sir John Mandeville had followed; and both, in returning, had published accounts of their discoveries, in which, with much of truth, they had combined more of extravagant fiction.^a From these and others Columbus gathered nutriment for his faith in a western passage to the Indies. Thirdly, upon the reports of navigators. Some, who had stretched farthest into the expanse west of Europe, had encountered timber artificially carved, and canes of enormous size floating upon the sea; even a canoe had been driven to them by easterly winds; and at one time the bodies of two men resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa were cast upon the coasts of the Azore Islands.^b

But it is evident that the first of these grounds produced on the mind of Columbus the deepest impression, and that the others were only resorted to as confirming his favourite theory. His genius had already imparted to the land of the West all the freshness of reality; and at a time when the vulgar mass would have listened with doubt—perhaps with horror—to his proposal, and when even the enlightened were confining their views to the East and the shores of Africa, he was willing to launch his bark upon the Atlantic, and to steer westward until either his cherished hopes were

^a Robertson's *America*, i. 31, 32. ^b Delaplaine's *Repos. Dist. Am.*, Irving's *Columbus*, ii. Appen. 298–i. 6; Robertson's *Am.*, i. 44; Bel-304. Marco Polo travelled in 1265, knap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 165. and Mandeville in 1322.

realized, or his body had found a tomb in the bosom of that ocean to which he had entrusted his fortunes. It is in this aspect that Columbus appears among the greatest of the great. He was not misled by enthusiasm, or driven on by accident: he was not the fortunate victim of winds and waves, whose fury he would willingly have avoided. His judgment was mature; his conduct was deliberate; he had estimated the hazard, and was ready to meet it. He was willing to encounter the scorn of the ignorant, the perfidy of the interested, the doubts of the learned, the delays of royalty,—all these he welcomed if they might conduct him to the threshold of an enterprise of danger beyond all that had gone before,—of inevitable ruin should he fail—but of unfading glory should success place a crown upon his brow.

He who would speak coldly of Columbus, and who, without thought, would ascribe to another the merit which is claimed for him alone, would do well to reflect upon the facts attending his discovery. It is not merely because he crossed the Atlantic, and landed upon one of the Bahama Islands, that we would receive him as our benefactor. This might, by singular and fortunate accident, have been accomplished by one before his day, who would have merited little at the hands of posterity. But it is the profound, the reflecting, the firm, yet chastened and trusting spirit, that deserves our admiration—the mind that conceived, formed, executed the plan of his life.

Excited by hope, yet laden with care, he turned

his ships to the setting of the sun, and perhaps might have gathered from the departing light presages of darkness for his own high aspirations. He passed three thousand miles of water that had never before been disturbed by a keel; he knew not, with certainty, whither he tended; the very winds which blew with gentle force and wafted on the adventurers over a placid sea, seemed invested with a mysterious control; their breath might be the treacherous fanning of a power from which they could never escape, and which was finally to bear them to certain destruction.^a The superstitious minds over which the master soul presided threatened constant rebellion, and added to the solemn terrors of nature the fierce impulses of human passions.

But the difficulties have been encountered and overcome, the dangers have fled before courage and genius; and the day on which Columbus cast himself upon his knees on the beach of San Salvador, and then rising drew his sword and displayed the royal ensign of the Castilian monarchs,^b has imparted to his name a lustre which will brighten with its rays the history of all succeeding generations.

If any thing could add to the interest of a discovery so wonderful, achieved by a character so magnanimous, it might be found in the thought, that for this great success, Columbus, and all who have lived after him, are wholly indebted to the gene-

^a Irving's Columbus, i. 91.

^b Irving's Columbus, i. 103; Delaplaine's Repos. Dist. Am., i. 10.

rous energy of a woman ; and if that part of our country upon whose history we are about to enter bears a name given by a queen, and endeared by many associations of feminine grace, America herself will never forget the ties which bind her to the fame of the noble, the virtuous, the self-sacrificing Isabella of Castile.^a

After the return of the great Genoese from his first voyage across the Atlantic, all astonishment at subsequent discoveries must be greatly diminished, if not entirely removed. There were indeed stormy seas, bleak and frozen coasts, treacherous rocks and quicksands yet to be encountered, but the mysteries of the ocean had been revealed—the veil was removed—and future voyagers might securely open their sails to the breeze which bore them to the western continent.

To Spain undoubtedly belongs the honour of having equipped and sent forth the hero who was destined to give to religion and civilization a new world for their favoured home ; but another country must claim the merit of having planted in America the germ of that greatness which she derives from her prosperity and her free institutions. Had Bartholomew Columbus reached the court of Henry the Seventh of England in due season, even the avaricious caution of that monarch might have

^a Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii. 128. Irving's *Columbus*, i. 71. "The king looked coldly on the affair, and the royal finances were absolutely drained by the war. of herself and of the cause, Isabella exclaimed—'I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my private jewels to raise the necessary funds.' "

* * * With an enthusiasm worthy

been moved by his arguments, and under English auspices the great navigator might have set forth upon his voyage.^a But it was otherwise disposed; and to the influence thus fairly gained by Spanish and papal power may be ascribed much of the oppression, the inactivity, and the vice, which have checked the growth of colonies in the fairest part of the western world.

But though England thus lost the privilege of being first in the enterprise which had been so happily commenced, she was not blind to the advantages that were to flow from the opening of this new field to European effort. She had not then indeed attained to that skill in navigation which has since distinguished her, and which has secured for her fleets the dominion of the seas, but her people were beginning to develope those unconquerable energies which have ever impelled the Anglo-Saxon race.^b In maritime attainments she was still inferior to the navigators of Italy, of Spain, or of Portugal; but in well-directed activity, and in resources from which to draw means for the equipment of voyagers, the wisdom of her monarch had rendered her their superior.

Europe had not recovered from the years of pleasing astonishment into which she was thrown by the return of Columbus, before Henry made diligent preparation to send forth a fleet upon a voyage of discovery to the new world thus opened to his view.

^a Robertson's *America*, i. 46; Howe's *Hist. Collec. Va.*, 13; Burk's *Hist. Va.*, i. 36, in note.

^b Robertson's *America*, i. 389.

But no Englishman was willing to lead in an adventure certainly hazardous, and requiring boldness and naval skill of the highest order.

Giovanni Gaboto, a Venetian merchant, whose name, when anglicized, may be known under the familiar form of John Cabot, was the man to whom England committed her dawning interests for the new world. He was a merchant of Bristol; and, in union with other enterprising spirits of that city, he fitted out four small barks, which, with one ship^a furnished by the king, composed the frail fleet that prepared to buffet the waves of the northern ocean. On the 5th of March, 1496, Henry granted to John Cabot, and to his sons Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, a patent;^b and as this, "the most ancient American state paper of England,"^c will furnish to us an idea of the contracted views of colonization then entertained, it will be expedient to refer to its terms. Henry grants to the Cabot family power "to sail in all parts of east, west, and north, under the royal banners and ensigns; to discover countries of the heathen unknown to Christians; to set up the king's banners; to occupy and possess as his subjects such places as they could subdue; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king as often as they should arrive at Bristol, (at which place only they were

^a Marshall's Amer. Col., 12.

i. 9, citing Chalmers' Polit. Annals,

^b Marshall dates this patent in 1495. Am. Col., 12. So does Dr. Robertson, America, i. 390, citing Hakluyt, iii. 4. See Bancroft's U. S.,

7, 8. Burk's Hist. Va., i. 37.

^c Bancroft's U. S., i. 10, citing Chalmers, 9.

permitted to arrive,) in wares and merchandise, one-fifth part of all their gains; with exemption from all customs and duties on such merchandise as should be brought from their discoveries.^a

Under this grant, it is clear that the Venetian and his family would acquire a complete title to all the lands they discovered, as well as full power to exercise over them such form of government as to them might seem best; while the unhappy colonists who might be induced to settle on their domain would be bereft of all political rights, and consigned to the tender mercies of the Cabot dynasty and their duly appointed agents. This grant, so liberal to the leading adventurers, and so crushing to those upon whom alone a colony must depend, was only on condition of the due payment to the royal merchant of his reserved part of the gains!

The time was not yet come when men had learned their social rights, and when human beings resented the attempt of a crowned head to transfer or to settle them like beasts of the field. Many years were to pass away before England could learn the true policy for colonizing; but it was fortunate that the gallant men to whom royalty committed its patents had more liberal souls than their sovereigns, and were always willing to share with their colonists the burdens and the pleasures of their arduous enterprises.

^a The patent in full may be found U. S., i. 10; Marshall's Colon. Hist. in Hazard's State Papers, i. 9. See Am., 12. also Burk's Va., i. 37; Bancroft's

(1497, May.) Clothed with these powers, John Cabot and his heroic son Sebastian^a launched boldly forth upon the western waters. Columbus had adopted the opinion that the islands he had discovered were contiguous to the coast of Asia, and the name of Indies might already be familiarly bestowed on the groups which belonged to America. Visions of gold and gems upon the soil of Cathay were already floating in the brain of the elder Cabot; and, steering a northwest course, he hoped to reach the promised haven of exhaustless wealth. On the 24th June the cheering sight of land was obtained in a high latitude, and the Italian navigator welcomed it with a name expressive of gratified hope. He called it *Prima Vista*; but the sailors of his fleet soon bestowed a title, which, if less pleasing to the ear, has been of more enduring existence.^b No gems or gold were found to sate their eager appetites; but subsequent years have developed the true value of the treasure they had discovered, and the banks of Newfoundland will continue to be a source of wealth and prosperity to man when the artificial thirst for gold has been forgotten.^c

Continuing their voyage from *Prima Vista* and St. John, with no prize more valuable than three natives, they next encountered the great continent itself; and the world seems to have acknowledged

^a Marshall says in May, 1496;

but it was in 1497. Robertson's

^b Robertson's *America*, i. 390.

^c Raynal's *Indies*, v. 325-338;

America, i. 390; Bancroft's *U. S.*, Smith's *Hist. Va.*, ii. 246.

i. 10.

that to an expedition sent forth under English patronage, Europe owes the discovery of the main land of the West.^a

Still seduced by the golden phantom, Cabot had steered north from Newfoundland, and he made the American coast in the latitude of fifty-six degrees.

The cold and forbidding cliffs of Labrador could furnish neither invitations for colonizing, nor wealth for avarice, nor hopes of a northern passage to the much-sought Indies; and Cabot was easily induced to turn his course to the more temperate seas of the south. He coasted along America, probably to the latitude of Virginia, and possibly even to that of Florida,^b but returned to England without having attempted either conquest or settlement.

The success of this voyage rekindled the zeal of Henry, who had not yet become so far involved in the interests of Spain as to be willing to yield deference to the enormous claims of papal folly. Subsequently, indeed, the marriage of his son with Catharine of Arragon^c made him anxious to preserve peaceful relations with his Catholic majesty, even by sacrificing in appearance his well-founded claims to America. The Pope had granted to the Spanish monarchs absolute right to all the countries discovered or discoverable west of a meridian line drawn from pole to pole one hundred leagues

^a Bancroft's *United States*, i. 2; *Am. Col.*, 13; *Rees' Enc.*, art. Cabot. *Grimshaw's United States*, 19.

^c *Hume's England*, ed. 1832, i.

^b *Robertson's Am.*, i. 390; *Marshall's* 519, chap. xxvi.

to the westward of the Azores,^a and the period had not yet arrived when even the faithful subjects of his Holiness had learned to yield to him spiritual obedience so absolute as to bring their lips to his feet, and yet, when necessary, to bind his temporal hands.^b

On the 3d February, 1498,^c Henry granted to John Cabot another patent, somewhat less ample than the first, and under its sanction another fleet of discovery was prepared. The direction of this enterprise was given to Sebastian Cabot, who was born at Bristol,^c and whose memory England should cherish with a love little inferior to that which she bestows upon the best of her native sons. Full of adventurous courage, yet calm in danger, deeply skilled in his favourite art, and devoted with enthusiasm to a life of discovery, his eighty years on earth were passed in almost ceaseless efforts for the advance of scientific knowledge, and he deserves more from his race than a grave unknown even to the most diligent antiquary.^d

In the voyage now commenced, Sebastian followed the course formerly pursued by his father, and stretched away first to the north, still intent upon finding a northwestern passage. On the 11th of June he had attained the very high latitude

^a Robertson's *America*, i. 65.

^b Voltaire *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, tome i. 23. La maxime est de le regarder comme une personne sacrée mais entreprenante à laquelle il faut baiser les pieds et lier quelquefois les mains.

^c "Sebastian Cabot declares himself a native of Bristol." See the authorities in Bancroft, i. 8; Rees' *Encyclop.*, art. Cabot.

^d Hayward's *Life of S. Cabot*, in Sparks' *Am. Biog.*, vol. ix. 161.

of sixty-seven and a half degrees, and yet the favourable season so acted with its genial heat upon the sea, that his passage was unobstructed by ice.^a But his crew, finding little to gratify in these barren regions, and not partaking of his zeal, mutinied and compelled him to return to the south, where former voyages had induced them to believe, might be found a clime of unexampled charms, and a country filled with all that nature could lavish upon her lovers. He sailed along the coast of what was afterwards Virginia, and seems to have been tempted even to the flowery land upon which a name so appropriate was subsequently bestowed;^b but he was compelled to return to England by threatened famine in his ships.^c

It would be a violation of the unity of plan desired in history, longer to dwell upon the successive voyages undertaken by Europeans for the discovery and settlement of the new world. It will not be expedient to accompany the navigators of France^d in their hardy attempts to draw wealth or fame from the frozen coasts of North America, nor to follow the Spaniard, Ferdinand De Soto, in his long-continued excursion through a country now

^a Harris' Voyages, ii. 191-195. There is some confusion of date as to this voyage. Harris places it in 1497; Bancroft refers it to 1498; Marshall and Robertson do not mention it at all.

^b Florida was discovered on Easter-day; and the Spaniards, in naming it, were moved by no sentiment more

poetic than the desire to honour the "Pascua Florida," the Easter-day of the Roman Catholic church. Murray's Encyc. Geog., iii. 543; Bancroft, i. 33.

^c Purchas' Pilgrims, iv. 1177; Harris' Voyages, ii. 193.

^d Viz., Cartier, Roberval, Poutrincourt, &c.

covered by some of the most flourishing states in our Union,^a nor to trace the events which resulted in the settlement of St. Augustine in 1565, nearly half a century before the landing of Englishmen upon the shores of the Chesapeake.^b The voyages of the Cabots have been the more fully described, because they give to England a title by discovery to the fairest portion of North America, and the zeal she afterwards manifested in settling it completed the equity of her claim. Had Spain or even France sent colonies to Virginia, her history would have been far less grateful to a mind intent upon the good of man than it has proved—there might, perchance, have been stirring incident, ardent patriotism, and even successful revolution; but there would not have been that clearness of political view, and that stern adherence to principle, the seeds of which are deeply implanted in English character. And if North America shall finally exercise an influence for unmeasured good upon the destinies of mankind, the world will owe this to the guidings of that Providence which sent the superstitious Spaniard to the climes of gold and silver, and reserved during more than a century, the soil of the north for the labour of English industry.

It has been a subject of surprise, perhaps of regret to many, that England should so long have delayed to plant colonies in that inviting country which had been opened to her view by her fearless

^a Purchas, iv. 1532–1556; Bancroft's U. S., i. 49–63; Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 260–269.

^b Bancroft's U. S., i. 74.

voyagers. Eighty-nine years passed away between the success of the elder Cabot and the first feeble attempt to engraft upon the young tree of the virgin land a scion from the vigorous oak of Britain. But it may not be unprofitable to reflect, that during this intervening period the history of the mother country presents little else than a scene of profligacy and oppression in the conspicuous reigning monarchs, and of submissive stupor in the people, which promised no good thing for the only spirit desirable for colonization.

Henry VIII. was a tyrant by nature and by culture, and added to the imposing traits of a despot the less respectable vices of an unscrupulous libertinism. His religion consisted in a bigotry which exceeded even that of Rome, and which condemned alike Papists and Protestants to the stake or the gibbet.^a His opposition to popery had no better basis than his relentless resolve to divorce a queen worthy of the best love that man could give; and the liturgy that he inflicted upon what he might truly have called "his church," was an embodiment of his own cruel inconsistencies. Under such a monarch, it is not wonderful that little was effected for colonies either by public spirit in government or by private adventure. Henry might rejoice in the welfare of a country which ministered food for his intense selfishness, and the people might be willing for a time to bear a yoke entailed upon them by the wars of an age of blood; but few could be found disposed to expatriate themselves and en-

^a Hume's *England*, ed. 1796, iii. 181.

counter the toils of the sea and the wilderness, with the certain prospect of devoting all their strength to fill the coffers of the grasping Tudor. Perhaps these considerations will do more to explain the indifference of England to colonization during his dominion, than his fierce struggles with the Pope, his general interference in European politics,^a or his domestic cares in providing successive wives to share his throne and sink beneath his cruelty.

During the short reign of the amiable Edward, a prince who seems to have drawn from his mother all that was distinctive in his moral character, England was free from papal control, and might have ridiculed with impunity the preposterous grant which divided the new world between two favoured nations.^b But a regency is a season not often benignant in its influence upon the foreign interests of a people, unless it be long continued, and be sustained by hands more skilful than those which directed the youthful king. In this reign no steady effort was made farther to develope the resources of the new world.

And when bigotry, in a female form, ascended the English throne in the person of Mary, the most sanguine heart could not have hoped for successful enterprise. Her time was wholly occupied in forcing popery again upon her unwilling people, in burning faithful subjects of her crown, and in sooth-

^a Robertson's *America*, i. 391. i. 181; and in Irving's *Columbus*,

^b Bull of Alexander VI., 2d May, i. 187, chap. viii.
1493, cited in Belknap's *Am. Biog.*,

ing the morose pride of her husband, Philip of Spain. It is melancholy to reflect upon the character of a woman so repulsive, that we can ascribe to her no praise, save that of loving one whom all others united in regarding with fear and execration.^a

Her love to the church of Rome and to the monarch of Spain, would cause her to pay unlimited respect to the papal grant of Alexander VI.; and her persecuted subjects would have sought in vain from her an humble home in America, in which to enjoy their hated religion.

But if the spirit of maritime adventure slumbered during these reigns and a part of that which succeeded, and if America was left without colonies, we who now enjoy her happy institutions have probably little reason to regret the delay. Colonists educated under governments grossly despotic, could not have failed to bear some impress of their origin; and long years of suffering might have been necessary to cast off the moulded forms of inveterate custom. Before the work of settling America had been firmly entered upon, the human mind was beginning to acquire that elastic power which was its happy possession in the best days of republican antiquity; and we may yet notice, in the progress of this narrative, the influence exerted on Virginia by the principles which were gaining strength at the time when her colonization, in truth, was effected.

Elizabeth is the sovereign to whom her country is indebted for the first systematic effort to colonize

^a Hume's *England*, iii. 316-319.

America. The character of this great Queen would insure a vigorous prosecution of any attempt made under her auspices to extend the influence of her far-famed dominion. Inheriting from her father an inflexible strength of purpose, without the fitful inconsistency which often prostrated his efforts, she entered with her whole heart into any measure which captivated her imagination. Possessed of a mind firm and well balanced, yet susceptible of the most varied impressions, she selected the best means to effect the ends her judgment indicated as desirable, and seldom failed by her vigour to render them effectual. Her mind had been carefully cultivated in youth, and it sought for knowledge with an ardour amounting almost to enthusiasm. An inquisitive spirit incessantly prompted her to find new sources of improvement for her people; and her fostering care had gathered around her the most learned and brilliant men of her age.^a Imperious alike in her public offices and in her own private family, her parliament trembled at the sound of her voice,^b and her domestics shrank from her presence with awe and distrust;^c but this very habit of command made her the bulwark of her country in danger, and urged forward with resistless force each scheme that received her favour. Even her vanity, which taught her to claim for her person the beauty

^a Hume's *England*, vol. iv., Appen. iii. 193-195.

^b Sir James Mackintosh, in a few pregnant sentences, sums up the tyrannous traits displayed by Eliza-

beth in the close of her reign. *Hist. of England*, Eliz., chap. v. 421.

^c Hume's *Eng.*, iv., 163; Grimshaw's *Eng.*, 126.

which nature had wholly denied to her,^a was not without its influence in enlisting her feelings for the success of every plan to which she gave being.

Under this princess England put forth her gigantic powers, and Christendom was made to feel her influence. Russia was visited by her fleets; and the autocrat who governed amid her cities and her forests was willing to open a communion with the isle that could send forth such adventurers.^b

(June 11.) Elizabeth looked with favour on Sir Humphrey Gilbert, (perhaps from love to his kinsman Raleigh,) and granted to him a patent as ample in its liberality to him as he could desire, and as little favourable to the interests of colonists as the enemies of England could wish.^c But this unhappy navigator fell a victim to his zeal for discovery and marine adventure. In 1583 he took solemn possession of Newfoundland in the name of his mistress; but, in returning, a violent storm separated the frail barks under his charge. The pious admiral was in the *Squirrel*, a small vessel to which a point of true professional pride had driven him.^d When the wind had somewhat abated, the *Hind* was near him. Sir Humphrey was seen with a book in his hand, carelessly reading amid the storm; and the last words heard from his lips were—"We are as near

^a Aiken's *Memoirs*, Elizabeth, i. 332-334; Grimshaw's *England*, 121.

^b Robertson's *America*, i. 395.

^c Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 24. See an extract from the patent in Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 279, with note by Hubbard.

^d "Being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search in every harbour or creeke, which a great ship could not doe." Hakluyt, iii. 154—in Belknap, i. 285, 286.

heaven by sea as by land ;"—a sentiment as devout as it is true, but one which will not remove our regret that so valuable a life should have been entrusted to so frail a bark. In the darkness which followed, the light of the vessel suddenly disappeared amid the angry waters, and the noble-hearted Gilbert was seen no more.

But there survived him in England a spirit worthy of greater success than ever attended the enterprises of Sir Humphrey. Walter Raleigh^a was his half-brother on the maternal side, and had sailed with him in a prior voyage of discovery. This celebrated man has filled a space in the eye of the world to which nothing but splendid talents and singular energy could have entitled him. At an age when the boy is still in the doubtful career of youth, and far removed from the maturity of manhood, he left his native land, and drew his sword in behalf of the Protestant queen of Navarre.^b Chivalrous courage and a love of adventure were his distinguishing traits ; and if his enthusiastic spirit sometimes betrayed him into folly, his warm affections endeared him to all who best knew his heart. To man he was often haughty and forbidding, but to woman he was willing to submit with uncomplaining deference. A character so marked could not long escape the notice of Elizabeth, and Raleigh soon received unequivocal tokens of her

^a He invariably signed himself "Walter Ralegh," and Dr. Robertson adheres to the correct name ; but "Raleigh" has now become too well fixed by usage to be changed.

^b He was but seventeen when he went to France under Henry Champignon. Oldys' Raleigh, viii ; Belknap, i. 292.

favour. If we may trust to authority otherwise undoubted, an incident strictly in accordance with the romance of his nature introduced him to the Queen; and the splendid cloak of plush and velvet which he cast upon the ground before her, and which saved the feet of Elizabeth from the miry contact that threatened them, did not fail to secure to its gallant possessor a path to the antechambers of royalty.^a The classic novelist of Scotland has introduced this event as one of the links which bound the fortunes of the knight to the throne of his mistress;^b and the happiness of Raleigh sank for ever with the declining sun of the last and greatest of the Tudors.

(March 25.) Elizabeth granted to Sir Walter a patent as ample in every respect as that before given to his kinsman Gilbert.^c She gives him power for himself, "his heirs and assigns for ever, to discover, find, search out, and view all such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, or territories, as were not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people," and to colonize them from England. The principles of the feudal system were called in to perfect this grant; and the Queen, as the great proprietor in feudal sovereignty of all her present

^a Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Devonshire, ii. 287. The grave and judicious annotator on Belknap does not hesitate to repeat this account. *Am. Biog.*, i. 296.

^b Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*, i. 228, (Philadelphia ed., 1821.)

^c This patent may be seen in Ha-

zard's *State Papers*, i. 33-38. An abstract sufficiently full is given in *Burk's History of Virginia*, i. 41-45, copying from Stith. See Tract "Nova Britannia," 8, in vol. i. of Peter Force's *Collection of Historical Tracts*, published at Washington in 1836.

and future dominions, made Raleigh and his heirs her tenants in fee simple of his discoveries, reserving to herself the duty of homage and the fifth part of all gold and silver which should at any time be found. The patent also gives to its holders full license to "encounter, expel, repel, and resist" all persons who should be guilty of the unpardonable insolence of inhabiting these countries, or any place within two hundred leagues of their settlements in six years then to ensue, unless these countries should have been previously planted by the subjects of some Christian prince in amity with her majesty,—and to capture, "by any means," all vessels or persons trafficking or found without license within their limits. Amid so much of narrow policy and extravagant claim, it is at least pleasing to find recognised that merciful principle of international law, which exempts from hostility the unhappy victims of shipwreck cast upon the shores of the settlers; but in Elizabeth's patent even this exception is confined to "persons in amity with her."

The holders of the patent are farther authorized "to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, as well in causes *capital* or criminal, as civil," all the inhabitants of these colonies. It is strange that any men should have been found willing to entrust themselves to a dominion so absolute and liable to so ruinous abuse; but the colonist confided rather to the honour, the humanity, the common sympathies of his adventurous leaders, than to rights derived from a patent which tacitly denied to him the lowest privileges of self-legislation.

After granting this instrument to her favourite, the Queen provided him with the means of rendering it efficacious. Her own coffers were not invaded, but the hoards of the luxurious in her realm were indirectly visited to procure the needed money. (Dec. 18.) She gave to Raleigh a monopoly for the sale of sweet wines throughout the kingdom,^a by which he was enabled to realize immense profits; and however fatal was the general policy of vesting in single interests the exclusive right to any branch of trade, yet the world has small reason to regret a tax upon wealthy indulgence, which was applied to the labour of pioneers in the western wilderness.

Sir Walter himself never visited North America, although many have believed that he did.^b His spirit of adventure might have impelled him to undertake an enterprise so congenial to his taste; but

^a Oldys' Raleigh, xxvi; Bancroft's U. S., i. 108; Burk's Hist. Va., i. 41.

^b The source of this error has been satisfactorily explained. Thomas Heriot, an accomplished mathematician and scholar, who accompanied Sir Richard Grenville to America, on his return to England, wrote a description of the country and its natural history, which is found in English in Hakluyt, iii. 266, (cited in Belknap, i. 308;) and in Latin, in De Bry's Collec. of Voyages. The English narrative gives correctly a passage—"the actions of those who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh therein employed;"—the Latin ver-

sion renders this falsely, "*qui generosum D Walterum Raleigh, in eam regionem comitati sunt,*" thus conveying the idea that Raleigh himself went to America, and that others "*accompanied him.*" See Stith's Hist. Va., 22; Oldmixon's Brit. Emp., i. 350; Burk's Hist. Va., i. 45; Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 308. Beverley makes Sir Walter come in person to "the land at Cape Hatteras," in search of the colonists whom Sir Francis Drake had taken away, (History of Virginia, 8,) but he gives no authority, and is doubtless in error.

England and her European neighbours now offered all that his heart could wish, of exciting incident, and of prospect for renown. He was content to interest in his scheme of colonization his two rich relatives, "Sir Richard Grenville the valiant, Mr. William Sanderson, a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other gentlemen and merchants."^a Two barks were equipped and fully provided with every thing necessary to success. They were well supplied with men, and were entrusted to the command of captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, to whom was committed the responsible task of planting English enterprise upon the soil of the West.

They sailed from England on the 29th April, high in hope, and full of that novel interest felt by men who are hazarding their lives in a cause and clime hitherto untried. Unskilled yet in the higher mysteries of navigation, and fearful of departing from the course formerly pursued by traversers of the Atlantic, they steered first to the Canaries, and thence to the West Indies, where the summer heats caused sickness among them.^b At length, after this needless delay, they approached the great continent, now first to be visited by Englishmen whose professed design it was to find among its magnificent forests a home for themselves and their children. (July 2.) As they drew near to the shores

^a Smith's History of Virginia, i. 81. Bay of Mexico, between the capes of

^b Smith's Hist. Va., i. 81; Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 300; Barlow stronger than we afterwards found "doubted that the current of the it to be."

they had so long waited for, although the eye was yet unable to discern the distant landscape of luxuriant verdure, yet another organ of sense told them with unwonted accuracy of the charms which nature had lavished upon America. A fragrance as of a thousand different flowers, varying in their odour yet uniting in their pleasing address to the senses, filled the air, and was wafted across the water to the approaching barks.^a It seemed as though the land they sought were already apprised of their coming, and were wooing them to her embrace by the delicious breath of her yet unviolated children.

Determined to avoid the error of former navigators, who had, with few exceptions, sought first the stormy seas and inhospitable coasts of a high northern latitude, Raleigh had encouraged his subordinates to seek the temperate south; and it was partly their desire to make the continent far below the cliffs of Labrador, that had induced them to sail by the Canaries and West Indian Islands. The land they were now drawing upon was the coast of Florida; but, turning their bows northward, they sailed yet one hundred and twenty miles before they discovered a harbour which seemed to invite them to enter. At length, on the 13th July, they landed on an island which they soon acknowledged under its Indian name of Wococon; and, with grateful hearts, they returned

^a Harris' Voyages, ii. 201; Smith's Burk's Hist. Va., i. 46; Frost's Pict. Hist. Va., i. 81; Bancroft's U. S., Hist. U. S., i. 75. i. 105; Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 300.

thanks to the Divine Protector who had guided them in safety across the treacherous ocean.^a

The isle upon which they entered, was the southernmost of the two which form the mouth now known as Ocracock Inlet.^b In the winter season, the whole eastern line of these islands is to be approached with extreme caution, even by the most skilful navigators. Terrific storms rage around their borders, and the projecting headland of Hatteras stands out like a fearful demon, to inspire dread in the bosoms of weather-beaten voyagers.^c (July.) But the adventurers now approached them at a season when the sea is calm, and when the verdure of these circling islands would offer to the eye and the mind hopes of tranquillity and of plenty. They were in a special manner struck with the appearance of the country. The beach was sandy,^d and extended far into the land, but a dense cover of small trees and clambering vines shaded the interior, and furnished many pleasing retreats from the rays of the summer sun. The quantity of grapes was so enormous, that every shrub was filled with them: the rising ground and the valley were alike laden with their abundance. Even the waves of the ocean, as they rolled in upon the sandy beach, bore back immense numbers of this teeming fruit, and scat-

^a Smith's Hist. Va., i. 81.

^c Murray's Encyc. Geog., iii. 529.

^b Bancroft's United States, i. 105.

^d Smith's Hist. Va., i. 81; Mur-

Compare Stith, Hist. of Va., on p. 9, ray's Encyc. Geog., iii. 529.

with Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 301,

citing Barlow's account.

tered them in profusion along the coasts of the contiguous islands.^a

Many of the trees were odorous, and imparted to the air that healthful freshness peculiar to the fragrance of nature. The cedar, the sassafras, the cypress, the pine, were all abundant; and in the woods were found the hare and the deer, almost tame from the absence of civilized destroyers. The fabled island of Calypso could scarcely have exceeded the charms of this spot as it appeared to the adventurers, and the genius of Fenelon might, without injustice, have given to the goddess a residence in summer upon the coasts of North Carolina.^b

No human being was seen by the voyagers until the third day, when a canoe, carrying three men, came by the shore. One of them landed, and, though probably filled with surprise, he evinced neither distrust nor fear. He received with apparent gratitude the gifts of his new friends, and, on leaving them, hastened with his companions to a favourable spot, whence they soon returned with the canoe laden with fish. Dividing these into two parts, he intimated, by intelligible signs, that he intended one portion for each vessel.^c

^a No attempt at exaggeration is here used.—See Smith's Va., i. 81. Mr. Bancroft in describing this scene is moved to a paragraph not devoid of poetry, i. 106.—See Purchas, iv. 1645.

daient en festons. Le raisin plus éclatant que la pourpre, ne pouvait se cacher sous les feuilles, et la vigne était accablée sous son fruit." —Télémaque, Liv. Prem.

^c Burk's Hist. Va., i. 47; Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 302.

^b "Les collines voisines étaient couvertes de pampres verts qui pen-

This savage hospitality was followed up on the succeeding day. Several canoes arrived, bringing many of the natives, and, among them, Granganameo, the brother of Wingina, the king. The Indian monarch himself was kept from his guests by a severe wound, received not long before in a conflict with a neighbouring tribe. His brother lavished upon the voyagers all the simple kindness that his heart could suggest. He left his boats at a distance, and, approaching with his people, invited an interview. Spreading a mat upon the ground, he seated himself, and made signs to the English that he was "one with them."

A friendly interchange of courtesies took place. The child of nature seemed strangely pleased with a pewter dish, which he hung round his neck, and with a copper kettle, for which he gave fifty skins, "worth fiftie crowns."^a He brought his wife and children to his new friends; they were small in stature, but handsome, and graced with native modesty. When the trafficking was in progress, none of the savages ventured to advance until Granganameo and the other great men were satisfied. They were his servants, and were governed, while in presence of their monarch, by a rule more absolute than that exercised by the kings of civilized climes, though his dominion virtually ceased when they passed beyond his sight.

The gentle manners of these people induced Captain Barlow,^b and seven others, to comply with

^a Smith's Hist. Va., i. 82.

this visit in his letter to Raleigh.—

^b Burk says, Captain Amidas, i. See Smith, i. 83; Belknap, i. 303.

49; but it was Barlow, who mentions

their request, and visit Granganameo on the Isle of Roanoke. They sailed up the river Occam (now known as Pamlico Sound) about twenty miles, and arrived in the evening at the north end of the isle, where they found nine houses, built of cedar, for the families around the chief. Granganameo was absent, but he was well represented; and in the very opening of their enterprise the settlers of Virginia were to receive from the gentle nature of woman a support which afterwards preserved them from destruction. The wife of the chief ran, brought them into her dwelling, caused their clothes to be dried, and their feet to be bathed in warm water; and provided all that her humble store could afford of venison, fish, fruits, and hominy for their comfort.^a

When her people came around with their bows and arrows—the usual implements for hunting,—the English, in unworthy distrust, seized their arms, but this noble Indian woman drove her followers from the lodge, and obliged them to break their arrows, in proof of their harmless designs. Though her whole conduct gave evidence of open-hearted and determined good faith, yet the adventurers thought it most discreet to pass the night in their boat, which was launched and laid at anchor for this purpose. The wife of the Indian chief was grieved by their conduct, yet she relaxed not her efforts for their comfort. Five mats were sent to cover them from the heavy dews of the season, and a guard of men and women remained during

^a Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 303; Campbell's Hist. Va., 10.

the whole night on the banks of the river.^a The learned and philanthropic Belknap might well propose the question, "Could there be a more engaging specimen of hospitality?" Yet can we not blame the caution of the English, for on their safety depended the voyage; and they had not now first to learn that man in a state of nature is prone to violence and treachery.

These Indians were represented by the voyagers on their return as gentle and confiding beings, full of innocent sweetness of disposition, living without labour, and enjoying a golden age in their western home; yet, by a singular inconsistency, the same narratives tell us of their feuds with other tribes, their fierce wars (often urged to extermination), and of those perfidious traits which so uniformly enter into the character of the savage.^b It is not irrational to suppose that the enthusiasm engendered by the discovery of a clime so full of natural charms, affected the view of the adventurers as to every thing connected with this land; and suffering and cruelty, both in the settlers and in the natives, slowly dispelled the pleasing vision.

Beyond the island of Roanoke they made no attempt to extend their voyage; and they collected no intelligence that could be useful or interesting, except a confused statement from the Indians that,

^a Smith's *Hist. of Va.*, i. 84; Burk's *3*, says—"That they seemed rather Va., i. 50; Belknap, i. 394. to be like soft wax, ready to take an

^b Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, i. 304; impression, than any ways likely to Burk's *Va.*, i. 48. Dr. Robertson oppose the settling of the English has with more soberness estimated near them." their character, i. 398. Beverley,

twenty or thirty years before, a ship had been wrecked upon their coast.^a What this ill-fated messenger was we do not know. It may have been one of the many barks shattered by the winds and waves in the dangerous passage of the Atlantic, and gradually driven by tide and current to the shores of Carolina.

Having thus happily accomplished some of the objects they had sought, the voyagers set sail on their return to England, taking with them two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, who voluntarily accompanied them to the "great country" beyond the sea. They arrived about the middle of September, and immediately sought the Queen, and laid before her an account of their voyage, and of its results. There was much of truth as a basis for their wondrous descriptions; but the sober observer will not fail to mark in this narrative the impress of imaginations heated by the novelty of their performance and the encouraging hopes of their royal mistress.^b They spake of the land they had visited as an earthly paradise;—its seas were tranquil and gemmed with green islands, on which the eye delighted to rest,—its trees were lofty, and many of them would rival the odoriferous products of tropical soil,—its fruits were so lavishly supplied by nature, that art needed to do little more than gather them in

^a Belknap, i. 304; Burk's Va., i. 51. I have found no account of this Indian statement in Smith.

^b "Representing the country so delightful and desirable, so pleasant and plentiful,—the climate and air so temperate, sweet, and wholesome,—the woods and soil so charming and fruitful,—and all other things so agreeable, that Paradise itself seemed to be there in its first native lustre." Beverley's Hist. Va., 2.

summer and autumn, for the wants of winter,—its people were children of another age, when virtue triumphed, and vice was yet unknown. The court and the Queen were alike enlisted, and looked to this discovery as one of the brightest spots in her lustrous reign.

For a land so distinguished in natural charms, and to which England designed to devote the expanding energies of her people, a name was to be found worthy of future love. The Queen selected “Virginia,” and none can deplore the graceful choice. She remembered her own unmarried state; and connecting, it may be, with this the virgin purity which yet seemed to linger amid these favoured regions,^a she bestowed a name which has since interwoven itself with the most sensitive cords of a million of hearts. Had Elizabeth carried to her grave a reputation as unsullied for chastity^b as it is unassailable for intellectual force, her memory might now be regarded with the most sacred affection by the sons and daughters of her favoured colony.

Raleigh had now obtained the honour of knighthood and a seat in Parliament; and, deriving from his lucrative monopoly means for farther effort, he

^a Beverley’s *Hist. Va.*, 3; Bancroft’s *U. S.*, i. 108; Burk’s *Hist. Va.*, i. 51; Grahame’s *Colon. Hist. U. S.*, i. 22.

^b It is not a grateful task to assail the memory of the dead,—but truth has not failed to show in this queen melancholy evidence that ex-

alted birth, refined education, sovereign power, and splendid intellect, may be accompanied by the temper of a tigress, and the profligacy of a courtesan. See Hume’s *Eng.*, iv., note D., 468; Lingard’s *Hist. Eng.*, viii. 296.

made diligent preparation for despatching another fleet to Virginia. The second expedition consisted of seven vessels, large and small; and that gallant spirit, Sir Richard Grenville himself, was at its head.^a The war with Spain was now in progress, and the richly laden vessels from South America and the West Indies offered tempting prizes to English bravery. Sir Richard sailed from Plymouth the 9th of April, passed the Canaries and West Indies, captured two Spanish ships, ran imminent hazard of being wrecked on the dangerous headland now known as Cape Fear, and reached Wococon on the 26th of June. Manteo was brought back to his native land, and proved an invaluable guide and interpreter to his newly-made friends.

But their amicable relations with the natives were now to receive a rude shock, from which they never recovered. At Aquascogoc, an Indian stole from the adventurers a silver cup; and, on being detected, he did not return it as speedily as was desired. (July 16.) For this enormous offence, the English burned the town, and barbarously destroyed the growing corn. The affrighted inhabitants fled to the woods, and thus a poisoned arrow was planted in their bosoms, which rankled unto the end.^b A silver cup, in the eyes of European avarice, was a loss which could only be atoned by ruin and devastation; and had the unhappy savage stolen the only child of the boldest settler, a more

^a Hakluyt, iii. 251, in Belknap, knap, i. 309; Frost's Pict. Hist., i. 306. i. 77.

^b Smith's Hist. Va., i. 86; Bel-

furious vengeance could not have followed! To such conduct does America owe the undying hatred of the aboriginal tenants of her land, and the burden of infamy that she must bear when weighed in the scales of immaculate justice.

A serious attempt was now made to found a colony. One hundred and eight men were left on the island of Roanoke, comprising in their number some of the boldest hearts, and many of the best-cultivated minds that had left the mother country. Among them was Thomas Heriot, whom Raleigh had sent out with a full knowledge of his scientific acquirements, his love of investigation, and his moral worth.

Sir Richard Grenville returned to England, where he arrived in September, bringing with him a rich Spanish prize.

The settlers, thus left to their own resources, seem to have done little in the all-important task of clearing the country and planting corn for future necessities. Ralph Lane had been appointed governor, a man uniting military knowledge with experience in the sea. He undertook several voyages of exploration, penetrated north as far as Elizabeth River and a town on Chesapeake Bay,^a and south to Secotan, eighty leagues from Roanoke. But his most famous expedition was up Albemarle Sound and the Chowan River, of his adventures in which he has himself given us a description, in a letter preserved by Captain Smith. The king of the Chowanocks was known by the title of Menatonon.

^a Smith's Hist. Va., i. 87; Burk's Hist. Va., i. 56.

He was lame in one of his lower limbs, but his spirit seems to have been one of uncommon activity and shrewdness. He told the credulous English of a country, four days' journey beyond them, where they might hope for abundant riches. This country lay on the sea; and its king, from the waters around his island retreat, drew magnificent pearls in such numbers that they were commonly used in his garments and household conveniences.^a Instantly the fancies of the eager listeners were fired with the hope of attaining this wealth; and notwithstanding the scarcity of food, and the danger of an assault by "two or three thousand" savages, they continued to toil up the river. They laboured on until they had nothing for sustenance, except two dogs of the mastiff species, and the sassafras leaves which grew in great abundance around them. Upon this inviting fare they were fain to nourish their bodies, while their souls were fed upon the hope of finally entering this region of pearls; but at length, in a state near to starvation, they returned to Roanoke, having made no discovery even so valuable as a copper spring^b high up the Chowan River, concerning which the Indians had excited their hopes.

Thomas Heriot employed his time in researches

^a "He taketh that abundance of pearls that not onely his skins and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished therewith." ing in some respects to Lane's narrative, was discovered in another part of America, by Mr. Hearne, under a commission from the Hudson's Bay Company. It empties into the Northern Ocean. Murray's Encyclop. Geog., iii. 341.

^b A copper mine river, correspond-

more rational than those which sought for pearls amid the wilderness of America. He intermingled freely with the Indian tribes, studied their habits, their manners, their language, and origin. He sought to teach them a theology more exalted than the fancies of their singular superstition, and to expand their minds by a display of the instruments of European science. He acquired a vast fund of information as to the state of the original country, its people and its products,—and to his labours we may yet be indebted in the progress of this narrative.*

But we have reason to believe that a great part of the colonists contributed nothing to the success of the scheme, and did much to render it fruitless.

The natives, who had received the first adventurers with unsuspecting hospitality, were now estranged by the certain prospect of seeing their provisions taken away and their homes wrested from them by civilized pretenders. Wingina, the king of the country, had never been cordial, and he now became their implacable foe. Nothing but a superstitious reverence of the Bible—the fire-arms, and the medicinal remedies of the colonists, restrained his early enmity; but at length, upon the death of his father, Ensenore, who had been the steady friend of the whites, he prepared for vengeance. In accordance with a custom common among the Indians, he had changed his name to Pemissapan, and now drew around him followers

* "Observations of Mr. Thomas Bland's Colon. Hist. U. S., i. 23, 24; Heriot," in Smith, i. 94, 99; Gra-Bancroft, i. 111-113.

to aid in his scheme of death. Twenty or more were to surround the hut of Lane, drive him forth with fire, and slay him while thus defenceless. The leader destroyed, the rest of the colonists were to be gradually exhausted by starving, until they should fall an easy prey to the savages. But this well-concerted plan was betrayed to the English—a rencontre occurred, and several Indians were slain. The settlers considered themselves justifiable in meeting the treachery of the foe by a stratagem, which drew Pemissapan and eight of his principal men within their reach, and they were all shot down in the skirmish.^a

(1586.) But this success did not assuage the hunger of the famished colonists. They were reduced to extremity, when a seasonable relief appeared on their coasts. (June 8.) While despair was taking possession of their bosoms, the white sails of a distant fleet were seen, and Sir Francis Drake, with twenty-three ships, was soon in their waters. He had been cruising in search of the Spaniards in the West Indies, and had been directed by the Queen to visit the Virginia Colony. His quick perception instantly discerned the wants of the settlers, and he provided for them a ship well stored with provisions, and furnished with boats to serve in emergency. But a violent storm drove his fleet to sea, and reduced to wreck the vessel intended to sustain the settlers. Their resolution gave way; it seemed as though Divine and human powers were united against them, and,

^a Lane's Narrative, in Smith, i. 91, 92; Belknap, i. 310.

in utter despondency, they entreated Drake to receive them in his fleet, and carry them to England. He yielded to their wishes. They embarked the 18th June, and, on the 27th July, they landed once more on the shores of their mother-land.

Thus, after a residence of nearly twelve months in Virginia, the first colonists deserted the country which had been offered as containing all that the heart of man could desire. Little was gained by their abortive attempt beyond an increased knowledge of the new world, and another lesson in the great book of depraved human nature.

It would be pleasing to the lover of Virginia to be able to record the final good fortune of Walter Raleigh, but nothing resulted from his patent, except successive disaster and an appalling consummation. The determined knight had sent a ship^a to seek the colony; and this arrived after the disheartened settlers had sailed with Sir Francis Drake, and thus, finding the island deserted, it returned to England. Two weeks afterwards, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with two ships well appointed; but no flourishing settlement greeted his eager eyes. Unwilling to abandon the semblance of hope, he left fifteen^b men on the island, well

^a Smith's Va., i. 99; Beverley, 8. knap, i. 311, Beverley, 8, Keith, 47,

^b Hakluyt says, "fifteen," iii. 323, Burk, i. 62, Grahame, i. 26, and of cited by Bancroft, i. 103. This number is adopted by Marshall, i. 19, the writer of "Contributions to the History of Virginia," in the S. and Frost, Pictor. Hist. U. S., i. 80, and W. Literary Messenger and Review, the author of the Outline in Howe, for August, 1846, p. 473; but Hakluyt's authority is conclusive. 20. For "fifty," we have the authority of Smith, i. 99, Stith, 22, Bel-

provided with all things essential to their comfort, and then spread his sails for England.

(1587.) In the succeeding year, Raleigh prepared for another attempt. Convinced that the bay of Chesapeake, which had been discovered by Lane, afforded greater advantages for a colony, he directed his adventurers to seek its shores, and gave them a charter of incorporation for the city of Raleigh^a—a name that North Carolina has since, with merited gratitude, bestowed upon her most favoured town. John White assumed command of this expedition, and they were soon in the waters of Virginia. (July 22.) The cape, to which maritime terrors have given an expressive name, threatened them with shipwreck, but at length they arrived in safety at Hatteras, and immediately despatched a party to Roanoke to seek the settlers left by Sir Richard Grenville. A melancholy silence pervaded the spot—the huts were yet standing, but rank weeds and vines had overspread them and striven to reclaim to the wilderness the abortive efforts of human labour. Not one man could be found, but the bones of one unhappy victim told in gloomy eloquence of conflict and of death.^b From the reluctant statements of the natives, they gathered the belief that these men had either all perished under the attacks of overwhelming numbers, or had gradually wasted away under the approaches of disease and famine.

A discovery so mournful held out no cheering

^a Oldy's *Life of Raleigh*, xxxvi.;
Belknap, i. 311.

^b Smith's *Va.*, i. 100; Belknap, i.
312; Howe's *Hist. Collec.*, 20.

prospects to the new adventurers; yet they determined to renew the attempt upon the islands adjoining Hatteras. About one hundred and fifteen persons were landed and prepared for their novel life. The Indians were no longer pacific; the spirit of Wingina had diffused itself through every bosom, and the unfortunate mistake, which caused the death of a friendly savage,^a contributed much to the general hostility. But amid so much that was unpropitious, two events occurred to shed a faint light upon their days. (Aug. 13.) Manteo, the faithful friend of the early visiters was baptized with the simple though solemn rites of the Christian faith, and upon him was bestowed the sounding title of Lord of Dessamoupeake;^b and a few days after, the first child of European parentage was born upon the soil of America. Eleanor, daughter of Governor White, had married Ananias Dare, and, on the 18th of August, she gave birth to a female, upon whom was immediately bestowed the sweet name of Virginia.^c It is sad to reflect, that the gentle infant of an English mother, and the first whose eyes were opened upon the new world, should have been destined to a life of privation and to a death of early oblivion.

But the colonists needed many things from the mother-land, and determined to send the governor to procure them. He was unwilling to leave them under circumstances so strongly appealing to his

^a Smith's Va., i. 101.

312; Burk's Va., i. 64; Frost's Pictor. Hist., i. 81.

^b Burk's Va., i. 64.

^c Smith's Va., i. 102; Belknap, i.

paternal heart, but yielded to the general wish, and sailed on the 27th August. But many causes now opposed his success in the mother-country. Spain was threatening a descent with her formidable Armada, and England was alive with preparation to meet the shock. Raleigh and Grenville entered with enthusiasm into the interests of their country, and were no longer in a state to furnish aid for a distant colony. Not until April 22d, 1588, could they prepare two small barks for a voyage to Virginia, and these, drawn away by their eager thirst for Spanish prizes laden with Mexican gold, wandered from their route, and were driven back by superior enemies to their original ports.^a

Yielding to his disappointment and mortification at these repeated disasters, and exhausted in money by his enormous outlays, Raleigh no longer hoped for success from his own exertions. Forty thousand pounds had been expended and no return had been made. On the 7th March, 1589, he assigned his patent to Thomas Smith, Richard Hakluyt, and others, who had the means and the experience of merchants, or rather he extended to them the rights enjoyed under his patent and exercised by him in giving the charter for the "City of Raleigh."^b With this assignment, he gave one hundred pounds for the propagation of Christian principles among the savages of Virginia.^c But

^a Belknap, i. 314.

^c Grahame's Colon. Hist. United

^b Hazard's State Papers, i. 42, 45. States, i. 29; Campbell's Va., 23, See Bancroft's United States, i. 122; 24.

Belknap's American Biog., i. 314.

the energetic soul of Raleigh no longer ruled, and doubtful zeal impelled the assignees. Not until March, 1590, could Governor White obtain three ships for his purposes; and though their names might have incited him, by the motives both of earthly hope and of religious trust,^a yet he preferred an avaricious cruise among the West India Isles, to a speed which might, peradventure, have preserved the life of his daughter. He arrived at Hatteras the 15th August, and sought the settlers left there three years before. The curling smoke of grass and trees in flame gave them encouragement, but they sought in vain their long-neglected friends. On the bark of a tree was found the word, "*Croatan*," legibly inscribed, and White hoped, from the absence of the cross, which he himself had suggested as a sign of distress, that the settlers were still in being; but as they proceeded to Croatan, a furious storm arose, and drove them from the coast, and their dismayed spirits could find no relief except in a return to England. No lingering trace has ever marked the fate of this unhappy colony. The generous Raleigh in vain sent five successive messengers to seek and save.^b They were gone, and whither no tongue was left to tell. Modern ingenuity may be indulged in the forlorn suggestion that they were amalgamated among their savage neighbours, but sober thought will rather fear that they perished under the mingled weight of famine, of disappointed hope, and of In-

^a They were "the Hopewell, the John."—Hubbard's Note to Belknap, John Evangelist, and the Little i. 315. ^b Belknap, i. 317.

dian barbarity. And if, in closing this mournful page in the history of Virginia, a feeling heart could consent to have its sadness yet farther increased, it might, with generous sympathy, turn to the fate of the leaders, who had so nobly striven for the success of the colonists. In an age of great men, Sir Richard Grenville was the bravest of the brave. In 1591, he commanded the *Revenge*, in the squadron of Lord Thomas Howard, when they were suddenly surprised at the Azores, by an overwhelming Spanish fleet, sent out to convoy their merchantmen. Lord Howard and all of his squadron, except the *Revenge*, got to sea and made good their retreat, but the heroic Grenville was left to cope single-handed with fifty-seven armed ships of Spain. History does not record a scene of more desperate heroism than was now displayed. From three o'clock in the afternoon until daybreak, he combated with numbers who poured upon him from every point. Fifteen times the Spaniards gained the deck of the *Revenge*, and as often were they driven back by English valour. At length, when his deck was slippery with the blood of his bravest men,—himself bleeding from many wounds,—his powder nearly exhausted, and his ship a perfect wreck, the unconquerable Grenville proposed to his crew at once to sink their bark and leave no trophy to their enemy. But, though many applauded, this rash proposal was overruled; the *Revenge* struck her colours, and, two days after, Grenville died of his wounds aboard the admiral's ship. In his own words, he had a "joyful and

‘quiet mind’ in death, and his enemies could not refuse their admiration to a heroism so exalted and triumphant even in defeat.^a

But the fate of Grenville was full of brightness when compared with that of Walter Raleigh. The great events of his life and his death are too well known to need a formal statement; but it is to be feared that few have entered into the inner temple of his soul, and read there his true history. Had David Hume been willing to sacrifice his obtrusive love of the Stuarts to a generous desire to do justice to an enthusiastic character, he might have found in Raleigh something more than a false and dreaming visionary;^b and the cruel delay which held the axe suspended for fifteen years over the victim, only that it might finally fall in execution of accumulated injustice, added to the already darkened escutcheon of James a blot which will never be washed away.

Thus the generous efforts of English hearts had been vain. Money had been freely poured out, but had brought no recompense. Savage jealousies had been roused, and savage enmity had commenced its work; devoted colonists had sunk in death on the soil of America; and when Elizabeth descended to her grave, not one English inhabitant could be found amid the inviting plains of the new world.^c

^a See the full account in Miss Aiken's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, ii. 264.

^b Hume's *Eng.*, iv. 110, chap. 43.

^c Robertson's *America*, i. 400; Grahame's *Colon. Hist. U. S.*, i. 29.

CHAPTER II.

Elizabeth dies—Is succeeded by James I.—His character—Progress of the spirit of liberty in England—General activity and excitement—Desire for colonizing—Peace with Spain—One of its effects—Bartholomew Gosnold—His successful voyage—Richard Hakluyt—Charter granted by King James to the London and Plymouth Companies—Preparations for the voyage—The King's articles of instruction—Their prominent traits considered—First colonists to Virginia—Cavaliers—Gentlemen—Few labourers or mechanics—They sail from Blackwall—Are driven to Chesapeake Bay—The River Powhatan—Jamestown—John Smith—His early history—Secret correspondence—Three duels—Smith a captive in Tartary—His arrival in Virginia—Visit to King Powhatan—Distress of the colonists—President Wingfield—The aborigines—Tribes in Virginia—Giants—Manners of the natives—Women—Learning and oratory—Religion—Government and laws—Their gradual decay in America—Conflict of Smith with the savages—Approach of winter.

THE melancholy result which attended the effort of Raleigh, operated during several years to check the spirit of colonization; but it was not destined finally to destroy it. As we approach the time when the first permanent settlement was to be made in America, we pause for a moment to reflect upon the circumstances which gave to it importance, and which rendered the movement of a discordant band of adventurers the source of life to a nation, and of renewed vigour to a world.

The last and most powerful of a renowned dynasty had ceased to reign. Elizabeth had sunk beneath the struggles of a spirit wasted by its own intense energy, and crushed by the death of a fa-

vourite whom her own hand had consigned to the scaffold. To the vacant throne of England succeeded a prince whose brow had already borne a crown, and who united in his person the hereditary honours of two royal families. But the world needed no protracted experience to show that the hand of a Tudor no longer grasped the sceptre. James Stuart had been educated in Scotland; and, perhaps, had not his fortunes called him to a more ample field of action, he might have descended to his grave with a character at least respectable for moderation, if not renowned for wisdom. His advancement to a post which required all the power of self-sustained courage, and all the sagacity of well-balanced intellect, served only to present his defects in bold relief. Vain of his talents, and inflated with the flattery of the designing, he sought to display his useless learning in works of the pen, which are known only to be ridiculed. He believed himself a master of kingcraft and political science, yet was he so ignorant of the laws of nations as to excite the surprise of the Spanish court^a and the scorn of his own advisers. His domestic virtues had no strength more enduring than that which they derived from silly fondness and selfish design; nor will the world easily ascribe generous affections to a heart which refused to oppose more than a feeble remonstrance to the injustice which finally took away the life of his beautiful mother. His timid soul shrank from contests and enterprises, to which his love of dominion would have urged him.

^a Hume's *England*, iv., chap. xlv., 216.

Born and reared in a land where the claims of prelacy had been rejected, he had repeatedly promised that he would protect and sustain the church institutions of his native clime,^a yet the atmosphere of England wrought in him an instantaneous change. He gave full sway to the strong love he had always felt for episcopal government; and he has not been suspected, without cause, of a bias to popery, too controlling to be subdued, yet too dangerous to be openly indulged. Even upon the discovery of the plot by which the most conscientious of the popish party intended to discharge what they believed to be a solemn duty to God and to the church,^b the religious prepossessions of James could not be concealed. The mortal fear of being blown up with gunpowder might indeed require the torture and execution of Guy Fawkes; but the king, in his speech to Parliament, spake with great moderation of Roman Catholics in general, and denounced, in plain terms, the "hateful uncharitableness of puritans."^c In his principles of government, this monarch was among the most imperious and uncompromising that ever filled the English throne. Conducted by a singular course of events from a place comparatively humble to one of paramount dignity, he believed himself to be the special favourite of heaven, and would willingly have retained the enormous prerogative bequeathed to him by his prede-

^a Hetherington's *Hist. Church of Scotland*, 93, 118, Am. ed., 1844. *History*, iii. 464, in note (McLaine's tr.); Hume, in note, iv., chap. xlvi.,

^b Everard Digby's letter to his wife, quoted in Mosheim's *Church* 222.

^c Hume's *England*, iv. 223.

cessors, as a sacred inheritance beyond the control of secular hands.^a But it was fortunate that his timid spirit was not equal to the task assigned to it by his regal principles; and his parliaments met his demands for power, for money, and for submission, with resolute acts, and with resistance which gathered strength during every year of his feeble dominion.

Leaving, for a season, the king under whose reign Virginia was to receive her first colony, we may now direct our thoughts to that condition of things in the mother country which affected her interests, and gave a form to her future destinies. For nearly one hundred years England had been bound in chains of brass. The Tudor dynasty had reigned with absolute sway. Differing, indeed, in their characters, they had yet been alike in the ample prerogative which they openly claimed or tacitly enjoyed; and during the exciting career of their reigns, neither lords nor commons could secure a breathing-time in which to reflect upon and calmly to test the foundation on which was erected so majestic a superstructure. But when a stranger came from Scotland and ascended the throne, a change not the less important, because almost insensible, took place. The revival of learning had expanded the human mind; and the scholar and the statesman might draw from the fountains of antiquity a love of rational liberty, and a full conviction that it might

^a "In his own person, therefore, right."—Hume iv., 211. See Walter Scott's *Hist. Scotland*, ii. 167, 168.

be obtained.^a The divine right of kings could no longer be passively admitted; and none were more ardent in seeking to secure freedom from royal encroachment than the men who were most deeply imbued with the spirit inculcated in the Scriptures. The commons began seriously to ask by what right the king imposed arbitrary customs and duties on trade—how he acquired exclusive control in matters of religion—and why he should be permitted to wield the dangerous power of imprisoning at will his faithful subjects.

Coeval with this awakening spirit of freedom, a general fermentation pervaded the minds of men, and urged them to every species of enterprise and improvement. The mechanic arts were assiduously cultivated, and the man was reckoned a benefactor to his species who could add to the comfort of life by the ingenuity of the artisan. Travelling was no longer the dangerous adventure, grateful to an age of knight-errantry. Navigation became fixed in its principles, honourable in its agents, expanded in its results; the very dangers which attended it, gave to it attractive features in the eyes of the young and the brave, and the immense wealth which had been gathered from its achievements, rendered it dear to the ambitious and the prudent. Disappointment had indeed attended many efforts to gather gold and silver from the shores of the new world, and to find pearls amid the wilds of North America, but the very failure of extravagant hope had tended to

^a Hume's Eng., iv., chap. xlv., 210.

direct public enterprise to more reasonable objects. Men now began to learn that real wealth might be drawn from the soil, the forest, and the sea—wealth more substantial than the precious metals,—and that America needed only to be colonized to become an inviting home to those who would abandon the mother country, and a fruitful source of profit to those who were left behind. But in addition to these impelling motives to enterprise, another cause now operated in England to make many willing to leave her shores and embark for the novel scenes of the western world.

The martial reign of Elizabeth had given employment to many restless spirits, whose happiness could only be found in constant commotion. Cavaliers and gentlemen of high birth, but of decayed fortunes, had found congenial employment in seeking the rich prizes of Spain; but when James ascended the throne, pacific counsels speedily prevailed. (Aug. 18, 1604.) Not more than a year after his accession, a peace was concluded, by which the angry spirits of the belligerents were stilled, and the most amicable relations were established between the Catholic and the Protestant sovereigns. Thus the adventurers, who had little employment for their talents except in war or maritime danger, were left to inactivity, and eagerly turned to America as an interesting field for their occupation.^a James was not unwilling to gratify their desires. Too timid in his policy to give them appropriate duties at home,

^a Bancroft's U. S., i. 134; Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 30.

he found it highly convenient to turn to Virginia a tide of his population, whose troubled waves might have visited too rudely the barriers of his own regal office; and it is no less remarkable than true, that the class of men from whom he was thus anxious to be delivered, furnished afterwards the most generous supporters of the fortunes of his unhappy son.

We have thus glanced with rapidity over the sources from which were to be directed the streams of European enterprise, destined to fertilize the soil of America; and now we may proceed to the settlement of the colony that first established and maintained a precarious existence upon the shores of Virginia.

Bartholomew Gosnold may, with justice, claim the honour of having excited again the discouraged heart of England to an attempt for settling the new world.^a He was a skilful navigator, and had crossed the Atlantic in 1602 by a direct western course, which saved him many leagues of weary sailing. On the 17th May, he discovered Cape Cod, and he then coasted along the shores of what was afterwards New England, landed on an island so full of fruits and luxuriant vines, that he could not bestow a more appropriate title than Martha's Vineyard,^b viewed a country and a soil rich, beautiful, and inviting, and finally returned to England about the close of July.

The success of this voyage of exploration, re-

^a Burk's Hist. Va., i. 75.

nold's letter to his father. Belknap's

^b Purchas, iv. 1646, gives Gos- Am. Biog., ii. 211, 214.

vived the hopes of English adventurers. Gosnold was enthusiastic in his praises of the natural charms of Virginia, and urged with ardour another effort to occupy her soil. Among those who united with him in endeavouring again to arouse the colonizing desire, was Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, a man of great learning and indefatigable industry, to whom America owes a heavy debt of gratitude.^a

Under his auspices public attention was strongly drawn to his favourite scheme. A number of adventurers offered their money, and many presented themselves to aid in the enterprise. To the King at length application was made, and he readily granted his sanction to a project which promised to employ the turbulent spirits of his realm, and to replenish his coffers with the results of success. On the 10th April, 1606, James issued a patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and others with them associated, under which they proposed to embark upon their eagerly sought scheme.^b

This royal grant deserves our close attention, as it will explain the nature of the enterprise and the powers originally enjoyed by those who entered upon it.

Selecting for the scene of operations the beautiful belt of country lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude, the King

^a Robertson's *Am.*, i. 402; Marshall's *Am. Colon.*, 24; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, 31.

^b The patent may be found in full in Stith, *Appen.* 1-8, and in Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 50-58.

certainly provided an ample field for the success of the patentees. This tract extends from Cape Fear to Halifax, and embraced all the lands between its boundaries in North America, except perhaps the French settlement in Acadia,^a which had already been so far matured as to come under the excluding clause of the patent. For colonizing this extensive region, the King appointed two companies of adventurers,—the first consisting of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and others, in and about the city of London, which, through all its subsequent modifications, was known by the title of the London Company; the other consisted of knights, gentlemen, merchants, and others, in and about the town of Plymouth, and was known as the Plymouth Company, though its operations were never extensive, and were at last utterly fruitless.

To the London adventurers was granted exclusive right to all the territory lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels, and running from the ocean to an indefinite extent westward into the wilds of America, even to the waters of the Pacific.^b They were also allowed all the islands, fisheries, and other marine treasures, within one hundred miles directly eastward from their shores, and within fifty miles from their most

^a Bancroft's U. S., i. 137.

^b Dr. Robertson seems to consider the colonists as restricted to a region extending one hundred miles from the coast into the interior.—*Amer. i.* 402. But though the patent contains a passage which might bear that

construction, yet the subsequent clause, prohibiting any settlements "behind" or westward of them without license, proves the design to include all the land between the parallels.—See *Miss Martineau's Soc. in Amer.*, i. 47.

northern and most southern settlements, following the coast to the northeast or southwest, as might be necessary. Within these limits, ample jurisdiction was conferred upon them. To the Plymouth Company was granted in like manner the land and appurtenances between the forty-first and forty-fifth parallels. Thus the whole region between thirty-eight and forty-one was left open to the enterprise of both companies; but to render angry collision impossible, the charter contained the judicious clause above noted, by which each colony might claim exclusive right fifty miles north or south of its extreme settlements, and thus neither could approach within one hundred miles of the other.

The hope of gold and silver from America, was yet clinging with tenacity to the English mind. James grants to the companies unlimited right to dig and obtain the precious and other metals, but reserves to himself one-fifth part of all the gold and silver, and one-fifteenth of all the copper that might be discovered. Immediately after this clause, we find a section granting to the councils for the colonies, authority to coin money and use it among the settlers and the natives. This permission may excite some surprise, when we remember that the right to coin has been always guarded with peculiar jealousy by English monarchs, and that this constituted one serious charge against the Massachusetts colony in the unjust proceedings by which her charter was wrested from her in subsequent years.^a

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 276-365.

To the companies was given power to carry settlers to Virginia and plant them upon her soil, and no restriction was annexed to this authority, except that none should be taken from the realm upon whom the king should lay his injunction to remain. The colonists were permitted to have arms, and to resist and repel all intruders from foreign states; and it was provided that none should trade and traffic within the colonies unless they should pay or agree to pay to the treasurers of the companies two and a half per cent. on their stock in trade if they were English subjects, and five per cent. if they were *aliens*. The sums so paid were to be appropriated to the company for twenty-one years from the date of the patent, and afterwards were transferred to the crown. James never forgot a prospect for gain, and could not permit the colonists to enjoy for ever the customs, which, as consumers of foreign goods, they must necessarily have paid from their own resources.

The jealous policy which, at this time, forbade the exportation without license, of English products to foreign countries, has left its impress upon this charter. The colonists were, indeed, allowed to import all "sufficient shipping and furniture of armour, weapons, ordinance, powder, victual, and all other things necessary,"^a without burdensome restraint; but it was provided that if any goods should be shipped from England or her dependencies "with pretence" to carry them to Virginia, and

^a Charter, section xi.

should afterwards be conveyed to foreign ports, the goods there conveyed and the vessel containing them should be absolutely forfeited to his majesty, his heirs and successors.^a

The lands held in the colonies were to be possessed by their holders under the most favourable species of tenure known to the laws of the mother country. King James had never admired the military tenures entailed upon England by the feudal system, and he had made a praiseworthy, though unsuccessful effort, to reduce them all to the form of "free and common soccage,"^b a mode of holding land afterwards carried into full effect under Charles II., and which, if less pervaded by the knightly spirit of feudal ages, was more favourable to the holder and more congenial with the freedom of the English constitution. This easy tenure was expressly provided for the lands of the new country; and it is a happy circumstance that America has been little affected even by the softened bonds thus early imposed upon her.

But how shall these colonial subjects be governed, and from whom shall they derive their laws? These were questions to which the vanity and the arbitrary principles of the King soon found a reply. Two councils were to be provided, one for each colony, and each consisting of thirteen members. They were to govern the colonists according to such laws, ordinances, and instructions as should be afterwards given by the *king himself*, under his

^a Charter, section xvii.

^b Blackstone's *Commen.* (by Chitty) Book ii. 59.

sign manual, and the privy seal of the realm of England; and the members of the councils were to be "ordained, made, and removed from time to time," as the same instructions should direct.^a In addition to these provincial bodies, a council of thirteen, likewise appointed by the King, was to be created in England, to which was committed the general duty of superintending the affairs of both colonies.^b

And to prove the pious designs of a monarch whose religion neither checked the bigotry of his spirit nor the profaneness of his language,^c it was recited in the preamble of this charter, that one leading object of the enterprise was the propagation of Christianity among "such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and might in time be brought to human civility and to a settled and quiet government."^d

Such was the first charter of James to the colony of Virginia. We will not now pause to consider it minutely either for praise or for blame. With some provisions that seem to be judicious, and which afterwards proved themselves to be salutary, it embraces the most destructive elements of despotism and dissension. The settlers were

^a Charter, section vii.

^b Charter, section viii. Marshall states that *two* councils were to be created in England by the King, and "were invested with the superior direction of the affairs of the colo-

nists." American Colonist, 26. But this is certainly an error.

^c Hume's England, vol. iv. 294.

^d Mr. Grahame's heart evidently exults over this good intention. Colonial History, i. 32.

deprived of the meanest privileges of self-government, and were subjected to the control of a council wholly independent of their own action, and of laws proceeding directly or indirectly from the King himself. The Parliament of England would have been a much safer depository of legislative power for the colonists, than the creatures of a monarch who held doctrines worthy of the Sultan of Turkey or the Czar of the Russian empire.

But all parties seemed well satisfied with this charter, and neither the King nor the adventurers had before their minds the grand results that were to follow the enterprise to which they were now giving birth. The patentees diligently urged forward preparations for the voyage, and James employed his leisure hours in preparing the instructions and code of laws contemplated by the charter. His wondrous wisdom rejoiced in the task of acting the modern Solon, and penning statutes which were to govern people yet unborn; and neither his advisers nor the colonists seem to have reflected upon the enormous exercise of prerogative herein displayed. The adventurers did not cease to be Englishmen in becoming settlers of a foreign clime, and the charter had expressly guarantied to them "all liberties, franchises, and immunities" enjoyed by native-born subjects of the realm.^a Even acts of full Parliament bind not the colonies unless they be expressly included,^b and an English writer of

^a Charter, section xv.

^b Blackstone's *Commen.* (by Chitty), Book i. 76-78.

subsequent times has not hesitated to pronounce this conduct of the royal law-maker in itself illegal.^a (Nov. 20.) But James proceeded with much eagerness to a task grateful alike to his vanity and his principles of government.

By these Articles of Instruction, the King first establishes the general council, to remain in England, for the superintendence of the colonies. It consisted originally of thirteen, but was afterwards increased to nearly forty, and a distinction was made in reference to the London and Plymouth companies.^b In this body, we note many names which were afterwards well known, both in the interests of America and of the mother land.

Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower of London; Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Herbert Croft, Sir Edwin Sandys, and others, formed a power to whom were intrusted many of the rights of the intended settlement. They were authorized, at the pleasure, and in the name of his majesty, to give directions for the good government of the settlers in Virginia, and to appoint the first members of the councils to be resident in the colonies.

These resident councils thus appointed, or the major part of them, were required to choose from their own body a member, not being a minister of God's word, who was to be president, and to continue in office for a single year. They were authorized to fill vacancies in their own body, and,

^a Chalmers 15, in Bancroft's U. S., i. 139.

^b Stith's Va., 36, 37.

for sufficient cause, to remove the president and elect another in his stead ; but the authority to "increase, alter, or change" these provincial councils was reserved as a final right to the king.

The Church of England was at once established, and the local powers were to require that the true word and service of God, according to her teachings, should be preached, planted, and used, not only among the settlers, but, as far as possible, among the sons of the forest.

The crimes of rebellion, *tumults*, conspiracy, mutiny, and sedition, as well as murder, incest, rape, and adultery, were to be punished with death, without benefit of clergy. To manslaughter, clergy was allowed. These crimes were to be tried by jury, but the president and council were to preside at the trial—to pass sentence of death—to permit no reprieve without their order, and no absolute pardon without the sanction of the king, under the great seal of England.

But, with the exception of these capital felonies, the president and council were authorized to hear and determine all crimes and misdemeanors, and all civil cases, without the intervention of a jury. These judicial proceedings were to be summary and verbal, and the judgment only was to be briefly registered in a book kept for the purpose.^a

For five years succeeding the landing of the settlers, all the results of their labour were to be held in common, and were to be stored in suitable magazines. The president and council were to

^a Stith's Hist. Va., 38, 39 ; Burk's Hist. Va., i. 87-89.

elect a "cape merchant," to superintend these public houses of deposit, and two clerks to note all that went into or came out from them, and every colonist was to be supplied from the magazines by the direction and appointment of these officers or of the council.

The adventurers of the first colony were to choose from their number one or more companies, each to consist of at least three persons, to reside in or near London, and these were to superintend the general course of trade between the mother country and her distant daughter, and direct it into such channels as would be most advantageous to both.

No person was to be permitted to reside in the colonies but such as should take the oath of obedience to the king, in the ample form provided for by a statute passed early in the reign of James, and any rash offenders who should attempt to withdraw from allegiance to his majesty, was to be imprisoned until reformation, or else sent to England, there to receive "condign punishment."^a

The president and councils, or the major part of them, were empowered, from time to time, to make, ordain, and constitute laws, ordinances, and officers for the better government of the colony, provided that none of these laws affected life or limb in the settlers. Their enactments were also required to be, in substance, consonant to the jurisprudence of England, and the king or the council

^a Stith, 37; Burk, i. 87-91; Marshall's Am. Colon., 27.

in the mother country, was invested with absolute power at any time to rescind and make void the acts of the provincial councils.

As the colonies should increase in population and influence, the king reserves to himself the right to legislate for them; but condescends to restrict his law-making energies to such action as might be "consonant to the law of England or the equity thereof."^a

And to show his tender feelings towards the aborigines, whose lands he was so deliberately appropriating to the use of his subjects, his majesty requires that they shall be treated with all kindness and charity, and that all proper means should be used to bring them to "the knowledge of God and the obedience of the king, his heirs and successors, under such severe pains and punishments as should be inflicted by the respective presidents and councils of the several colonies."

On these kingly ordinances the philosophic reader will not fail to observe the impress of the man. The stern penalty of death visited the crimes of rebellion and conspiracy, which aimed a blow at sovereign power, and even the popular *tumult*, which kings have so much cause to dread, was stilled by the same bloody monitor; yet arson and burglary were left to the discretion of the councils. Adultery was punished with death—a penalty never inflicted even in England, except during a time of puritanic zeal, which offered to God a ser-

^a Stith, 41; Burk, i. 91-92; Bancroft's U. S., i. 140.

vice without knowledge.^a In the eye of divine purity the offender, by this crime, may be the vilest of the vile; but if the Redeemer of the world refused to denounce the punishment of death against one taken in the act,^b it devolved not on this Scottish Draco to render it a capital crime.^c The whole legislative power is vested in the council, without any reference to the interests or the rights of the people whom they were to govern, and the King retains absolute control over the present and future laws of the colony—thus rendering their great distance from his face the best protection they could have against his tyranny. The trial by jury was required for capital felonies and manslaughter; but all inferior offences and every civil interest, however overwhelming in importance to the colonist, were to be summarily decided upon by the provincial councils. In the same space, it would have been difficult to compress more of absurd concession and of ruinous restraint. The clause requiring all things to be held in common was destructive of the most powerful stimulus that urges man to labour; the semblance of mercy which forbade war upon the savages, often held the hand of the settler when raised in self-defence; and the church establishment, forced by the arm of the law upon reckless adventurers, made religion a hated bondage, and the tithe-gatherer more odious than the author of evil.^d

^a Blackstone's Commen. (by Chitty), iv. 46. This was in 1650. ^c See Stith's remarks in his Hist. Va., 41-42.

^b John viii. 1-11.

^d It is surprising that Mr. Gra-

But notwithstanding the defects and deformities of a charter which, in modern times, would have been indignantly rejected as an invasion of the rights of man,^a the London Company eagerly prepared for their proposed scheme of settlement. Sir Thomas Smith was elected treasurer,—a gentleman who had amassed great wealth by merchandise, who was one of the assignees under Raleigh's patent, and was soon afterwards made governor of the East India Company.^b Much has been said against him; but he was a man of public spirit and expanded views, and urged forward the enterprise with his influence and his contributions. The means of the company were at first very limited; three ships only were prepared, the largest of which was of not more than one hundred tons burden, and Christopher Newport was selected for the command. He was a navigator of some renown, principally derived from a voyage of destruction against the Spaniards in 1592; but he was a vain and affected character, little calculated for decisive and manly action. Instructions were prepared, but the King, with his accustomed profundity of folly, directed that they should be sealed in a box, and not opened until the voyagers arrived upon the coasts of Virginia. In the vessels, there embarked, beyond the regular crews, one hundred and five persons, to form the settlement. And it

hame, generally so discriminating a lover of liberty, should assert that "these regulations, in the main, are creditable to the sovereign who composed them." Colon. Hist. i. 36.

^a Robertson's America, i. 403.

^b Belknap's American Biog. ii. 110; Stith's Virginia, 42.

does not seem extravagant to assert, that Virginia has felt, through all her subsequent history, the influence of these first settlers in giving a peculiar bias to her population. Besides the six gentlemen intended for the council, and Mr. Robert Hunt, a minister of the Gospel, we find the names of more than fifty cavaliers, who are carefully reckoned in the shipping-list as "gentlemen,"^a and who were better fitted for the adventures of the drawing-room than for the rude scenes of the American forest. Disappointed in hope and reduced in fortune, these restless wanderers sought the new world with desire for exciting adventure and speedy wealth. Among them was George Percy, a member of a noble family and brother to the Earl of Northumberland.^b In this singular band we note but eleven professed labourers, four carpenters, one blacksmith, one bricklayer, and one mason; but we are not surprised to find a barber to aid in making the toilet of the "gentlemen," a tailor to decorate their persons, and a drummer to contribute to their martial aspirations!

Thus prepared with the elements of a refined colony, Newport set sail from Blackwall the 19th December, 1606. Adverse winds kept him long upon the coast of England, and with disappointment came discord and murmuring among the voyagers. The preacher suffered with weakening disease, but his soothing counsels alone preserved

^a The list may be found in Smith's *Virginia*, i. 153. Grimshaw's *U. S.*, 26; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 36.

^b Burk's *Hist. Va.*, i. 95, note;

peace among this wild company.^a Instead of following Gosnold's former voyage immediately across the Atlantic, they sailed by the Canaries and West Indies; and while in full route, the dissensions among the great men raged so furiously that Captain John Smith was seized and committed to close confinement on the false charge that he intended to murder the council and make himself king of Virginia. Arriving at length near the coast of America, their false reckoning kept them in suspense so alarming, that Ratcliffe, commander of one of the barks, was anxious to bear away again for England.

But heaven, by its storms, contributed more to the settlement of Virginia, than men by their infatuated counsels. (1607.) A furious tempest drove them all night under bare poles, and on the 26th April, they saw before them the broad inlet to the Bay of Chesapeake. The cape to the south they honoured with the name of Henry, from the Prince of Wales, a noble youth, whose character gave the fairest promise of a career of high-souled action, whose love to Raleigh was only exceeded by his father's hatred, and whose early death gave England cause for unaffected mourning.^b The northern headland was called Charles, from the king's second son, who afterwards succeeded to his throne.

As they passed the first cape, a desire for recreation possessed them,—and thirty, without arms, went on shore; but they were soon attacked by five

^a Smith's Va., i. 150; Stith, 44. Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 359, 360,

^b Hume's England, iv. 241, 242; additions by Hubbard.

savages, and two of the English were dangerously hurt. This inhospitable treatment promised but little for future peace. The sealed box was now opened, and it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named as members of the Provincial Council.

Sailing leisurely up the beautiful expanse of water to which the Indians have given a name that Europeans have never violated,^a the voyagers were charmed with the prospect before them. The season was mild, and nature had fully assumed the emerald robe of spring. On either side, the distant land presented a scene of tranquil verdure, upon which the eye might rejoice to repose. The noble bay received into its bosom the waters of many broad streams, which descended from the highlands faintly visible in the dim horizon. Green islands saluted them at times as they advanced, and invited their approach by their peaceful loveliness.^b

At length they reached the mouth of a magnificent river, that tempted them too strongly to be resisted. This was the "Powhatan" of the Indians; and no true lover of Virginia can cease to

^a Chesapeake, "the mother of the waters." See Howe's Hist. Collec., 22, and note at bottom of the page.

^b Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 1686. "The six-and-twentieth day of April, about four o'clock in the morning, we descried the land of Virginia; the same day we entered into the Bay of Chesapioc; * * then we landed and discovered a little way,—but we could find nothing worth the speaking of but fair meadows and goodly tall trees, with such fresh water running through the woods as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof." Stith, 45; Bancroft's U. S., i. 141, 142; Nova Britannia, 11, in vol. i. P. Force's Hist. Tracts.

deplore the change which robbed this graceful stream of a title pregnant with all the associations of Indian valour and of the departed glory of their empire, and bestowed a name that can only recall a royal pedant and a timid despot!

Seventeen days were employed in searching for a spot suited to a settlement. (May 13.) At length they selected a peninsula, on the north side of the river, and about forty miles from its mouth, and immediately commenced the well-known city of Jamestown.

A commendable industry seems at first to have prevailed. The Council contrived a fort,—the settlers felled the trees, pitched their tents, prepared gardens, made nets for the fish which abounded in the river, and already began to provide clapboards to freight the ships on their return to England.

But these fair promises of good were destined to a speedy betrayal. Already discord prevailed in their counsels, and a flagrant act of injustice had been committed, which soon recoiled upon the heads of its authors. We have heretofore mentioned the name of John Smith among the persons nominated for the Council, and have spoken of the violent imprisonment to which he was subjected during the outward voyage. Jealousy of his merit and commanding talents did not stop at this point. He was excluded from his place in the Council, and an entry was made in their records detailing the alleged reason for this act.^a

^a Doctor William Simons, in made why Capt. Smith was not admitted of the counsell as the rest." Smith, i. 151, says, "An oration was

John Smith is the hero of the romantic destinies that attended the early life of Virginia; and the historian who would attempt to tell of her fortunes and yet neglect his story, would be recreant to his trust. Nations have generally owed their brightest days of power or of happiness to the genius of a single person,—directing their energies, subduing their follies, enlightening their seasons of early ignorance. Assyria has had her Semiramis, China her Confucius, Arabia her Mohammed, England her Alfred; and were we required to point to the man to whom America is principally indebted for the care of her infant years, we would not hesitate to name the heroic spirit who now appears before us.

His life deserves, and shall receive from our hands, something more than the passing notice bestowed upon the vulgar herd. He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire of England, in the year 1579,^a and lived during a period of the world's career rare in adventure and excitement. His parents died when he was thirteen, leaving him competent means of support. Even at this tender age he pined for a voyage, and, as he informs us, "the guardians of his estate, more regarding it than him, he had libertie enough, though no means to get beyond the sea." A spirit so restless could not long be restrained. His friends (friends after the fashion of the world) gave him ten shillings out of his own estate "to be rid of him," and in a short

^a Burk's Virginia, i. 76.

time he found himself in Paris. Here one David Hume made some use of his purse, and in return gave him letters of strong recommendation to King James of Scotland. But before he sought the shores of Caledonia, he passed several years in learning the practical duties of a soldier in the bloody wars now raging in the Netherlands, where Philip of Spain was yet struggling to restore his hateful dominion.^a Arriving, at length, in Scotland, he found the duties of a courtier too onerous to be endured, and returning to his native seat, he passed a season in perfect seclusion, employing his mind upon Marcus Aurelius and Machiavel's Art of War,^b and his body in vigorous exercise with horse and lance. But he soon returned to active life. Having recovered a portion of his estate, he was enabled to revisit France in the train of a Frenchman, who held forth fair promises in the day, and at night joined in a scheme to plunder the unsuspecting Englishman of his trunks and baggage. This treachery he afterwards visited upon the author, and in single combat left him desperately wounded upon the field. Wandering through various provinces, he at length reached Marseilles, and embarked for Italy in a ship containing many pilgrims possessed of the very demon

^a Tytler's Gen. History, 217-219.

^b If Captain Smith was familiar with the writings of Machiavel, it is not impossible that he may have insensibly imbibed some of the loose principles taught by the Florentine statesman, and that these afterwards

affected his treatment of the savages.

The most eloquent of English essayists has not been able to cover Machiavel with a garb more respectable than that of an open and unscrupulous advocate of national knavery.—Macaulay's Miscel. Essays.

of religious intolerance. On the passage a fierce storm arose, and with it arose the fears of the Papists, who firmly believed that their danger was caused by the presence of the heretic Briton. With many pious curses upon himself and his queen, they seized the victim and threw him into the troubled waters; but his strength and skill at swimming preserved his life: he landed in safety, was carried by a vessel to Egypt, sailed in the Levant, pleased his restless soul by a fight with a rich Venetian ship, which he captured, and was at length put on shore at Antibes, with a treasure amounting to nearly one thousand sequins. The excitement of war had greater charms for him than the acquirement of wealth, and in a short time we find him in the employ of Austria, and accompanying the Transylvanian army in their march against the Turks.

No traits in the character of this remarkable man appear more prominently than that readiness of invention and promptitude in danger which made him invaluable to those he served. The Turks assembled an immense army around Olumpagh, and shut out all communication. Smith offered to his general a plan by which to converse with the governor of the city, and it was most ingeniously executed. First a signal was given by raising and lowering three torches on a neighbouring hill, and this was duly acknowledged from the town. Then a brief message was written, and the alphabet divided into two parts. The letters from A to L were indicated by showing and

hiding one torch as many times as there were letters from A to the one intended to be expressed; the letters from M to Z, by showing and concealing *two* torches in like manner; as each letter was formed, it was acknowledged by a single torch in the town, and at the end of each word, all three torches were exhibited.^a By this plan Smith conveyed to the governor a message—"On Thursday at night I will charge on the east; at the alarm, sally you." Ebershaught answered simply, "I will." At the appointed time false fires were shown; the Christians without and within fell with resistless fury upon the Turkish trenches; confusion and dismay seized upon them; nearly one-third of the besiegers on that side of the town were slain, and many others drowned. So great was the panic thus produced, that the Turks raised the siege, and the garrison was relieved.^b

But achievements awaited him more glorious than signals with torches, or destruction with fireworks. Count Meldritch, a nobleman of Transylvania, had laid siege to a strong town on the frontiers of his patrimonial estate, then in possession of the Turks. Smith was in his army; and the infidel garrison, grown bold in supposed impunity, employed a new mode of insult. The Lord Turbashaw challenged any Christian, who had the rank of commander, to single combat, each for his antagonist's head. Lots being cast, the die fell to Smith, who joyfully prepared for the lists. Fair

^a Smith's Travels, i. 8-9; Burk's Virginia, i. 80.

^b Smith's Travels, i. 9; Campbell's Virginia, 28.

ladies and men at arms in glittering attire graced the ramparts. The Turk entered with the sound of hautboys, clad in gorgeous array, and shining with jewels and gold. The English combatant bore only his lance; but at the first terrible shock the infidel was pierced through the brain, and the victor alighting, bore away his head in triumph.^a Another Turk soon met him, and encountered a similar fate. But Bonamalgro was yet alive, and wounded pride forced him to accept a challenge from the heroic Briton. Each entered the lists armed with pistols, battle-axe, and falchion; the first were discharged without effect; but when they closed, the Turk dealt Smith so fearful a blow upon the crest, that he reeled in his saddle and his axe fell from his hand. But the triumph of the Turk was brief. Summoning all his strength, and managing his horse with matchless skill, he avoided the blows of the infidel, and at last pierced him through with his falchion, and added his head to the two already laid at the feet of Count Moyses of Transylvania.^b

Exploits so remarkable called for reward. A

^a Smith's Travels, i. 16-17.

That hurled him from his startled horse
To earth, a bleeding, lifeless corse!"

LAND OF POWHATAN. Canto II.

^b Smith's Travels, i. 16-18; Burk's
Virginia, i. 81.

"Smith's treacherous lance to atoms flew,
But Bonamalgro's proved more true;
Our hero from his horse was thrown,
The Turk was reeling from his own,
When Smith uprose with sparkling eye,
And drew his falchion from his thigh;
Before the Turk could forward spring
The falchion made his morion ring,
And gleaming with the lightning flash,
Deep in his neck had left a gash,

I have reason to believe that this poem (published in 1821) is from the pen of St. Leger Landon Carter, Esq., of Virginia. It has some spirited passages, but it is disfigured by irregular versification. Mr. Carter has written better poetry since its appearance.

triumphal procession of six thousand men attended the conqueror to the general's tent; three Turkish horses were led before him, and three spears, with a Turk's head affixed to each, were carried in the van. Moyses received him with rapture, and presented to him a beautiful horse, richly caparisoned, and a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats; and after the capture of the town, Sigismund, the Duke of Transylvania, granted to the English knight a patent, vouching in high terms his valour, and appointing him a shield of arms bearing the device of three Turks' heads, to which Smith afterwards added his own chosen motto, "*Vincere est vivere.*" These letters patent were duly examined and approved in the office of the heralds of arms in England, as appears by the certificate of registry in 1625.^a Besides this insubstantial honour, Sigismund bestowed a pension of three hundred ducats annually, and his miniature set in gold.

(1602.) In the fatal battle of Rotenton the Turks were victorious, and Smith was left severely wounded upon the field. He was eagerly seized by the pillagers as a person whose appearance and dress held forth promises of heavy ransom. When his wounds were cured, he was carried with other captives to the market of Oxopolis, and sold to a bashaw, who sent him immediately to his fair mistress, Charatza Tragabizanda, at Constantinople. The noble adventurer excited in the tender heart of this Turkish lady so much of interest and affec-

^a The patent, in the original Latin, i. 19-21; Stith's *Va.*, 110; Burk, may be seen in Smith's *Travels*, i. 82.

tion that she treated him with the utmost kindness; and to preserve him from the danger of being again sold, she sent him to her brother, the Timor of Nalbrits in Tartary, urging him to use the captive with all care and gentleness. But the Tartar chief had no responsive chord of mercy in his bosom, and his brutality was increased by the suspicion of his sister's tenderness. Stripped of his own garments, and clothed in a coat of the coarsest hair, with a belt of "undressed skin" to encompass it, his head shaved, and his neck encircled by an iron ring, with a long handle like a sickle attached to it, the wretched captive was driven to the fields for labour among his hapless companions. But the nature of the lion could not endure the slavery of a meaner animal. The savage Timor sometimes visited him only "to beat, spurne, and revile him;" and in one interview the enraged Briton rose upon his oppressor, and dashed out his brains with the threshing-flail with which he laboured.^a

Escaping from Tartary by a series of wonderful adventures, he afterwards travelled through Germany, France, and Spain, visited the kingdom of Morocco, enjoyed a furious naval engagement in the Atlantic, off the African coast, and finally arrived in England with one thousand ducats in his purse, and a spirit still eager for farther adven-

^a Smith's Travels, i. 41; Burk's Va., i. 83; Stith, 111.

"The wanton lash he fiercely raised,
And in his eye his passions blazed;

Now—now—the venture cannot fail—
Smith swings around his sweeping flail,
The bashaw's brain is scattered on the
gale!"

LAND OF POWHATAN. Canto II.

ture.^a Here Bartholomew Gosnold communicated to him the plan for colonizing Virginia, and he entered upon it with all the enthusiasm of his nature.

(1607.) Such was the man who now stood upon the soil of America, and contemplated with joy her natural riches. The believer in a special Providence will not marvel that such a character should have been selected by the Deity to give life to such an enterprise, and, among all whom the history of that age will introduce to our knowledge, we find not one, besides this rarely-gifted man, fitted for the task that devolved upon him. In the prime of manhood, with a body active, healthful, and inured to toil and suffering; with a mind acute, vigorous, and inventive; possessed of courage which knew no fear; of energy which shrank from no obstacles; of self-possession which failed not in any danger; he entered the wilderness of the West, and left an impression never to be erased.

His talent for command excited the mean jealousy of inferior souls, only that his merit might appear brighter by contrast. If we have aught to urge against him, it is, that he met the treachery of the Indians with a severe spirit, but too much akin to that of the Spaniards in the South. Yet we cannot reproach him with undeserved cruelty, or with deliberate falsehood, and the stern demands of his circumstances often rendered inevitable acts which would otherwise have been ungrateful to his soul.

When the Council was constituted, Edward Maria

^a Burk's Va., i. 84.

Wingfield was elected President, — a man who always proved an inveterate enemy to Smith, and who speedily attracted the hatred even of his accomplices by his rapacity, his cowardice, and his selfish extravagance. Smith demanded a trial, but the Council feared to trust their wretched charge to an impartial jury, and pretended, in mercy to him, to keep him under suspension. But their own incompetence soon brought his talents into demand. He accompanied Newport upon an exploring voyage up the river, and ascended to the residence of King Powhatan, a few miles below the falls, and not far from the spot now occupied by the city of Richmond.^a The royal seat consisted of twelve small houses, pleasantly placed on the north bank of the river, and immediately in front of three verdant islets. His Indian majesty received them with becoming hospitality, though his profound dissimulation corresponded but too well with the treacherous designs of his followers. He had long ruled with sovereign sway among the most powerful tribes of Virginia, who had been successively subdued by his arms, and he now regarded with distrust the advent of men whom his experience taught him to fear, and his injuries to detest.

On their return to Jamestown, they found that, during their absence, the Indians had made an attack upon the settlement, had slain one boy, and wounded seventeen men. The coward spirit of Wingfield had caused this disaster. Fearful of

^a Stith's Va., 46; Burk's Va., i. 98.

mutiny, he refused to permit the fort to be palisaded, or guns to be mounted within. The assault of the savages might have been more fatal, but happily a gun from the ships carried a crossbar-shot among the boughs of a tree above them, and, shaking them down upon their heads, produced great consternation. The frightened wretches fled in dismay from an attack too mysterious to be solved, yet too terrible to be withstood.^a

After this disaster, the fears of Wingfield were overruled,—the fort was defended by palisades, and armed with heavy ordnance, the men were exercised, and every precaution was used to guard against a sudden attack or a treacherous ambuscade.

Smith had indignantly rejected every offer of pardon held out to him by the mean artifices of the Council. He now again demanded a trial in a manner that could not be resisted. The examination took place, and resulted in his full acquittal. So evident was the injustice of the president, that he was adjudged to pay to the accused two hundred pounds, which sum the generous Smith immediately devoted to the store of the colony.^b Thus elevated to his merited place in the Council, he immediately devised and commenced active schemes for the welfare of the settlers, and, on the 15th June, Newport left the colony, and set forth on his voyage of return for England.

Left to their own resources, the colonists began

^a Dr. Simons's account in Smith, i. 151, 152.

^b Simons, in Smith, i. 152; Stith's Va., 47.

to look with gloomy apprehension upon the prospect before them. While the ships remained, they enjoyed many sea-stores, which to them were real luxuries, but now they had little whereupon to feast, except a miserable compound of wheat and barley boiled with water, and even to the larger portion of this, the worms successfully laid claim. Crabs and oysters were sought with indolent greediness, and this unwholesome fare, with the increasing heats of the season, produced sickness, which preyed rapidly upon their strength. The rank vegetation of the country pleased the eye, but it was fatal to health. In ten days hardly ten settlers were able to stand. Before the month of September, fifty of their number were committed to the grave, and among them we mark, with sorrow, the name of Bartholomew Gosnold.^a The gallant seaman might have passed many years upon the stormy coasts of the continent, but he sank among the first victims who risked their lives for colonization.

To this scene of distress and appalling mortality, the president Wingfield lived in sumptuous indifference. His gluttony appropriated to itself the best provisions the colony could afford—"oatmeal, sacke, oyle, aqua vitæ, beefe, egges, or what-not,"^b—and, in this intemperate feasting, it seemed as though his valueless life were only spared that he might endure the disgrace he so richly merited. Seeing the forlorn condition of the settlement, he

^a Stith's Va., 48; Belknap's Am.

^b Smith's Va., i. 154.

Biog., ii. 228.

attempted to seize the pinnacle, which had been left for their use by Newport, and make his escape to England. These outrages so wrought upon the Council, that they instantly deposed him, expelled his accomplice, Kendall, and elected Ratcliffe to the presidency.^a Thus their body, consisting originally of seven, was reduced to three. Newport had sailed, Gosnold was dead, Wingfield and Kendall were in disgraced seclusion. Ratcliffe, Martin, and Smith alone remained. They seem to have felt no desire to exercise their right of filling their vacant ranks. The first had a nominal superiority, but the genius of the last made him the very soul of the settlement.^b

It is related by the best authority, that, at this dark crisis, when their counsels were distracted, their hopes nearly extinguished, their bodies enfeebled from famine and disease, the savages around them voluntarily brought in such quantities of venison, corn, and wholesome fruits, that health and cheerfulness were at once restored.^c Their condition now brought them in almost daily contact with the aborigines; and, in order that we may appreciate the importance of this singular people in their action upon the history of Virginia, we must devote to them for a time the notice they so well deserve.

When Columbus first landed upon an island of the

^a Stith's Va., 48; Keith's Va., 60. but I see no satisfying evidence of this.

^b Mr. Burk insinuates that this arrangement was the result of some collusion between the three, i. 103; ^c Smith's Hist. i. 155; Stith, 48; Keith, 60; Bancroft's United States, i. 144.

Bahama Group, he found his fair discovery already occupied by inhabitants differing widely, both in manners and appearance from the people of the world, hitherto explored.^a And as European enterprise successively unfolded the islands and the huge continent, over which a veil of mystery had so long been hung, men were still found to claim the rights of ancient habitation. The curious may conjecture their origin, but we waive a task so futile. A learned mind has told us, that "there is hardly any nation from the north to the south pole, to which some antiquary in the extravagance of conjecture has not ascribed the honour of peopling America." Jews, Canaanites, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Scythians, have all been marshalled for the claim,^b and the pompous labour of one from the Emerald Isle has found a wondrous similitude between the savages of North America and the hardy sons of Sparta in her prime.^c We assume the more humble, but we trust not less valued duty, of speaking of the aboriginal tribes of Virginia themselves rather than of their imagined progenitors.

The original grant of James covered a tract of country now embracing a large proportion of the American States, and within its boundaries were contained a great number of savage nations, differing widely in their languages, their manners, and their power, though alike in many characteristics. But our attention will be confined to Virginia pro-

^a Robertson's *Am.*, i. 130.

^c Burk's *Hist. Va.*, iii.

^b *Ibid.*, i. 130.

per, which, at that time, may be considered as including the territory now lying between Pennsylvania on the north and North Carolina on the south. Many noble rivers traversed this region. The Susquehanna descended from above, and discharged its waters into the head of the bay. Next in importance was the Potomac, whose majestic opening from the Chesapeake, struck the early discoverers with wonder and delight. Then came the Rappahannoc, often called Toppahanoc, by the writers from whom Captain Smith compiled his history. The York succeeded in order, and, finally, the royal Powhatan swept through the lower country from its mountainous source, and added its ample tribute to the inland sea.

Three principal tribes or classes of natives inhabited this beautiful country,—the Powhatans, the Manuahoaes, and the Monacares;^a but many subordinate divisions gained distinctive names. The empire of King Powhatan was most extensive. By his conduct and valour he had gradually reduced under his sceptre all the tribes from the borders of the Bay to the falls of each river, as far north as the Potomac; but the space between the falls and the mountains was occupied by two confederacies,—the Monacares, living near the head of James and York rivers, and the Manuahoaes, on the upper part of the Rappahannoc and the Potomac. These last were in amity with each other, but waged incessant war upon the Powhatans; and

^a Jefferson's Notes, 96.

all the emperor's prowess could not reduce them to subjection.^a At the head of the bay lived the Susquehanocs, of whom marvellous accounts have been rendered. They were represented as men of gigantic stature, and yet of perfect symmetry of proportion, clad in skins of bears or wolves, with the heads of these animals still attached to their garments and hanging down with their glittering teeth upon the breast or shoulders of the wearer.^b Their voices were said to be deep and solemn, like the hollow tones which might issue from a vault; yet these formidable people were so simple and honest in disposition that they could with difficulty be restrained from worshipping the English as gods. Beyond the mountains lived the Massawomecs, whom the eastern Indians represented as numerous and powerful, living upon a great salt water, inveterate in their enmities, and terrible in war.^c They were probably a branch of the celebrated Five Nations, so well known afterwards in the history of New York.^d

These were the general classes of the natives whom the first settlers found upon the soil of Virginia. They were alike interesting from the mystery surrounding their birth, the independence of their lives, and the influence for good or evil they were capable of exerting upon the English colo-

^a Smith's *Virg.*, i. 134-136; Jefferson's *Notes*, 96.

^b Purchas's *Pilgrims*, iv. 1693; Smith's *Va.*, i. 119; Stith, 67, 68.

Mr. Burk is incredulous as to the

size of the Susquehanocs, i. 123; but

I see no reason to doubt the truth of those who vouch it.

^c Smith's *Virginia*, i. 120-135.

^d Jefferson's *Notes*, 99.

nists. Active and hardy in body, subtle and inventive in mind, they could never be treated with contempt; they preferred stratagem to open warfare, and considered him who could devise the darkest scheme of treachery as best entitled to their esteem. In the highest sense, they could not be called brave, for they were easily dismayed, and fled in general from the first attempt at resistance; yet in passive courage they were unequalled, for they endured suffering and torture without a murmur.

The men devoted themselves chiefly to hunting and war, and left the labour of cultivating their scanty fields to the fairer sex.^a Their food consisted principally of the game which at certain seasons was abundant in their forests, and the fish taken in the "weirs" contrived by savage ingenuity. They cultivated a grain known as maize or Indian corn, which was prolific in increase and highly nutritious for food. The colonists were soon well pleased to adopt it; subsequent years have introduced it yet farther to the tables of the enlightened, and the Premier of England may at last rejoice to find this grain not unworthy of his own gastric energies.^b

The settlements of the Indians seldom attained to the dignity of a town. A few cabins occupied a space palisadoed for defence. Their houses were constructed with primitive simplicity. A circle of flexible trees or "saplings" was planted, and their

^a Smith's Virginia, i. 131; Beverley's Virginia, 138.

^b In 1846 Sir Robert Peel discovered that in America, Indian corn was used for "human food," and recommended its free importation!

tops were drawn together and confined by cords made of tough bark or white oak. The thatch was made with bark, or skins closely interwoven; the chimney was simply a hole in the top, through which the smoke ascended.^a These rude hovels were very warm in winter, but were rendered comfortless by the rapid accumulation of filth and smoke.^b

The dress of the natives in summer consisted generally of a short mantle thrown over one shoulder and descending below the middle; this was often confined by a girdle around the waist. In winter they were more fully covered; and their priests uniformly wore a sacerdotal garment made of the skins of animals with the hair dressed upon them and reversed, so as to give them a shaggy and most frightful exterior.^c The men took exceeding pains in early life to extirpate the beard, and the absence of this manly appendage has been noticed as a reproach to the natives of America.^d

The forms of the natives were, in general, straight, symmetrical, and well proportioned. They were, at birth, of very light copper colour, but grew gradually darker by the influence of exposure, and of grease assiduously rubbed upon their skins. The women were often graceful, and were sometimes of uncommon beauty. Insinuations highly unfavourable to their chastity have

^a See Beverley's *Virginia*, 148, with the plate opposite.

^b Smith's *Virginia*, i. 130-131.

^c Beverley's *Virginia*, 143.

^d Buffon, xviii. 146. "Il n'a ni poil, ni barbe." See Jefferson's Notes, 59-64; Beverley, 140; Grimshaw's *U. S.*, 43.

been made; but a writer who has devoted great attention to the natives, magnanimously defends the gentle sex from these assaults, and declares them to be "unjust scandal."^a He asserts, that an Indian maiden who had borne a child before marriage was looked upon as disgraced, and was never able afterwards to get a husband; and he declares, that no such case of female frailty had ever come under his knowledge.

Learning and the arts could hardly be said to have existence among the Indians; and unless we consider the enormous sepulchres, generally called "barrows," which are found in some parts of our state, in the light of monuments,^b no other vestiges remain entitled to such dignity. Yet oratory was not unknown among them, and grave debates often occurred, which, for order and decency, might put to shame the confused bodies of civilized legislators. When an Indian orator addressed the council of his own or a foreign tribe, profound silence reigned through the assembly, and he who violated it was a public offender. Beverley relates, that on one occasion, when an Indian delegate was treating with the English concerning peace, he was interrupted by one of his own attendants. Taking his tomahawk from his girdle, he clove the head of the unhappy wretch at a single blow, and then directing the lifeless body to be carried out, he continued his oration as though nothing had occurred.^c

^a Beverley, 146.

^c History of Virginia, 194; Burk's

^b Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes, 100— Virginia, iii. 67.
103, gives a detailed account of his visit to one of these "barrows."

Their knowledge of the art of healing was but limited; a few simples culled from the vegetable kingdom formed the list of their "materia medica," and their conjurors were the only physicians. They used, in the words of Captain Smith, "many charms and rattles, and an infernal rout of words and actions;" but they had little success. Wounds were seldom healed, and epidemics were never arrested until either their own virulence or their subjects were exhausted. The poor savages attributed a superstitious importance to the medical skill of the English, and believed them capable even of restoring the dead to life.

Man is a religious animal, and the Indians had their religion. Their supreme god was the great "Okee;" but whether he was indeed the holy Creator of the universe or the author of evil, it is not easy to say. Like all other people left to the light of depraved reason, they attributed to the Deity some of the worst qualities of men, and assigned to him bodily existence and monstrous proportions. Upon a rock about a mile from the James, and not far below the site of Richmond, might be seen the impress of huge footsteps, about five feet asunder. These the natives declared to be the tracks imprinted by their god as he walked through the land.^a

Besides their chief divinity, they worshipped fire, water, lightning, thunder, the cannon and muskets of the colonists; adoring with natural but

^a Beverley, 182. These imprints of rock, at Powhatan, the seat of Robert A. Mayo, Esq. are yet faintly visible, upon a surface

superstitious reverence, each agent able to inflict upon them injury not to be avoided by their own exertions. Some have thought that they used bloody rites in worship, and even sacrificed children to their gods; but a close study of all that early writers and eye-witnesses have said on this subject, will convince us that the children offered were never put to death, but were devoted, with hideous ceremonies, to the service of their idols in the priestly office.^a They believed in the immortality of the soul; and this sublime doctrine, with its attendant law "written upon the heart," taught them to expect rewards for the virtuous, and fearful punishment for the wicked.

Their hell was a loathsome cavern, where flames continually burned, and where furies, in the shape of haggard women, tormented the lost spirit day and night; but, on the other hand, their heaven contained all the charms of savage taste,—abundant game, for hunting, fishing, or fowling, a temperate clime, and a spring which knew no change.^b

The government and laws of the aborigines, were the result rather of custom than of positive institution. Each individual considered himself a member of some tribe, and governed by the "weroance," or chief man among his people; and the Emperor Powhatan ruled over many distinct com-

^a Smith's account in *Hist. Va.*, i. 140, 141; Beverley's *Va.*, 175-180; i. 96; Beverley, 171, 172. Burk's *Hist. Va.*, i. 229; Purchas, iv. 1702.

^b Heriot's observations in Smith,

munities. His dominion was absolute in theory, and extended to life or property of his subjects; but beyond the control of his immediate band of armed warriors, very little attention was paid to his decrees. Powhatan was now sixty years of age—his aspect stern and commanding—his carriage was such as became a king. He had as many wives as he should be pleased to take, and when he reposed, one sat at his head and another at his feet—when he dined, they brought water to bathe and a tuft of feathers to dry the royal hands.^a His will was law, and when made known must be obeyed by all. A singular canon of descent governed the royal office, which well merits our attention. The crown, upon the death of the king, never descended to his children, either male or female, but vested in his oldest brother, and upon his demise, in his remaining brethren successively, and then in his sisters. At their decease, it descended to the heirs, male or female, of the eldest sister and of the other sisters in succession; but never to the heirs of the brothers.^b If, for this last-

^a Campbell's Hist. Va., 17; Smith, i. 143.

^b Smith's Virginia, i. 143. Capt. Smith's ingenious account of the soil, the climate, the productions, and the natives of Virginia, has been the basis on which all subsequent inquiries have been founded. He closes his narrative with a specimen of the Indian language, and I have thought a few selections

would not be uninteresting to the curious reader.

Nemarough,	A man.
Crenopo,	A woman.
Mattassin,	Copper.
Wepenter,	A cuckold.
Mawchick chammay,	The best of friends.
Cassakimnakack peya quagh acquintan	
uttasautasough.	
In how many days will there come	
hither any more English ships?	

The dialects, respectively, used by the Powhatans, Monacans, Manna-

named rule, any reason can be assigned, it may be one not creditable to the chastity of the wives in the royal family.

Thus we have traced with rapidity, yet it is hoped not without interest, the prominent features of the natives of Virginia.

At the time when the settlers first landed, the number of the aborigines in the present limits of the state did not probably exceed sixteen thousand.^a The powerful confederacy under Powhatan consisted of about eight thousand inhabitants, of whom a proportion of one-third were warriors. This population was not one-thirtieth part of that now covering this beautiful region, and yet our state is far less densely peopled than our northern sisters. The law of nature, by its most benevolent construction, could not be held to give to a handful of savages, thinly scattered over an immense tract of land, where they hunted much and cultivated little, a right to exclude civilized settlers; and all that justice required was, that they should consent to sell, and should receive a fair equivalent for those parts to which they had acquired a title by settlement. This proper mode of extinguishing their right, we fear, was too often departed from in Virginia; but a diligent scholar has asserted, that regular purchases and payments in the east were more numerous than has generally

hoacs, and Massawomecs, were so different that an interpreter was necessary to the people of each nation in conversing with the others. Smith, i. 120-134; Jefferson's Notes, 96-99.

^a Trumbull's United States, cited in Campbell's Virginia, 18.

been supposed,—and we know that from the ascent to the mountains westward, titles were obtained by purchases, to which rigid equity itself could make no objection.^a The wilderness was open to all,—and if the Indians had a right to hunt, the Europeans had an equal right to fell the trees, build houses, plant the ground, and reclaim the treasures of nature for the purposes of refined life.

Small as the original number of natives appeared, it rapidly diminished before the advancing step of civilization. No arts have had more than partial success in curbing the wild independence of the American, and moulding him to European forms. To him it has been an unhappy fate to have been brought in sudden contact with foreign learning and arts, instead of passing gradually through the several stages that conducted our Saxon and British ancestors from the stern ferocity engendered in the forests of Germany and Britain, to the very pinnacle of modern refinement. The vigorous shoot may be gently guided in time to the desired point; but if a firm hand be applied with sudden force, it must break, and fall withered to the ground. Such has been the fate of the Indians. “Every where, at the approach of the white man, they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone for ever; they pass mournfully by us, and they return no more.”^b The eloquent jurist has not falsely spoken. When Beverley wrote his history, in 1720,

^a Jefferson's Notes, 98; but see Belknap's Am. Biog., ii. 183, 184, in note.

^b Story's Diminution of the Indian Tribes.

a few decayed tribes in the eastern counties remained only to tell of wasting and of death. The proud name of Powhatan was nearly forgotten. Wyanoke, Appamaton, Port Tobago, Rappahannoc, all were extinct.^a When Mr. Jefferson turned to seek them, he could find but twenty, or perhaps thirty members of the tribes seated on fertile lands upon the Pamunky and Nottoway rivers, and needing trustees to guard their simple natures from injury.^b Modern industry may perchance still find in the counties of King William and Southampton the feeble remains of these tribes, sunk in indolence, and degraded by intermixture with a lower race;^c but a few years will sweep from eastern Virginia every vestige of the savage warriors who once held her soil. Like the vapour of morning, they have pleased for a time by their varied and singular forms, and then disappeared for ever before the beams of the sun as he ascended from the eastern waters. Cold philosophy may explain their decay, and mark each step of their melancholy pilgrimage through years of diminution; but a sensitive heart will not refuse to let fall a tear upon the soil once trodden by the feet of these desolated sons of the forest.

From this necessary digression, we turn again to the history of the English settlers. Ratcliffe and Martin were alike incompetent, and Smith assumed the guidance of affairs. Finding their pro-

^a Beverley, 199, 200; Howe's Hist. Collec., 141.

^c Howe's Hist. Collec., 349, 470, note on last page.

^b Jefferson's Notes, 99.

visions again nearly exhausted, he went with a party down the river to Kecoughtan to obtain supplies from the natives. Savage irony was all they received; a handful of corn and a piece of bread were offered in exchange for swords and muskets.^a The Indians came against them in numbers, frightfully dressed, and bearing their okee in the form of a monstrous idol, stuffed with moss, and hung with chains and copper. But they were received with a volley of pistol-shot. The omnipotent okee fell to the earth, and with him several of his worshippers. The rest fled to the woods, and, finding resistance vain, they brought quantities of corn, venison, turkeys, and wild-fowl, and received in exchange, beads, copper, hatchets, and their discomfited deity.

During the absence of the ruling mind, Wingfield and Kendall seduced a few sailors, and made another attempt to carry off the bark to England. At the critical moment, Smith returned, and, instantly directing the cannon of the fort against them, commanded submission. A skirmish ensued and the seditious Kendall lost his life.^b A similar effort to desert the settlement was soon made by Captain Gabriel Archer and the imbecile President Ratcliffe, and again the decision of Smith arrested them and forced them to their duty. He was ever prompt, and hesitated not at any measures required to govern his turbulent compeers.

And now the winter came on, and with it came

^a Smith, i. 156; Stith, 49; Keith,
61.

^b Smith, i. 157; Stith, 50; Burk,
i. 104.

CHAPTER III.

Smith's excursion up the Chickahominy river—He is captured by the natives—Indian superstition—The prisoner conducted in triumph through several tribes—Brought before Powhatan—The Princess Pocahontas—She saves the life of the captive—Smith's return to Jamestown—Levitical law—Arrival of Newport—Blue beads and Indian corn—A river of gold—Sand and cedar—Smith's first voyage of exploration—The Potomac—An adventure—The second voyage—The Susquehanoc Indians—Fight with the Rappahannocs—The Nansemonds—Return—Smith made president—Newport's third arrival—Coronation of Powhatan—Jealousy and discord among the settlers—Disappointment of the London Council—Smith's letter—He visits Powhatan—Danger of the English—They are preserved by Pocahontas—Heroism of Smith—His influence with the savages—German traitors—Arrival of Argal—Second Charter of King James—Lord Delaware governor—A fleet for Virginia—A storm—Sir George Somers wrecked on the Bermuda Islands—He sails for Virginia—A scene of wretchedness—Materials for the colony—Discord—Sedition—Accident to Smith—He leaves Virginia—Idleness—Profligacy—Disease—Starvation—Death—Arrival of Somers—The colonists abandon the settlement—They meet Lord Delaware in the river—Return to Jamestown.

THE Chickahominy falls into the James, not many miles above the site of Jamestown. It flows through a very fertile region, and upon its banks were native settlements well supplied with the stores of savage labour.

Up this stream Smith urged his boat with great perseverance, cutting through trunks of trees and matted underwood which opposed his progress. At length, finding the obstacles to increase, he left the boat in a broad bay, where Indian arrows could not

reach her, and strictly forbidding the crew to leave her, he pressed on, with two Englishmen and two Indians, eager to penetrate with their canoe the swamps beyond them.^a Hardly had he disappeared, before the disobedient seamen left the boat, and sought amusement upon the shore. Opecan-canough, an Indian chief of great subtlety and courage, was near with a lurking band of savages, and, instantly seizing his advantage, he made prisoner George Cassen, one of this party, and obtained from him full information as to the movements of Captain Smith. The cowardice of Cassen did not save him. The savages put him to death with cruel tortures, and then pursued their more dreaded foe.^b

Smith had now penetrated twenty miles into the marshes; and leaving the two Englishmen in the canoe, he went forward with an Indian guide. The savages found the two men sunk in stupid slumber by the side of the canoe, and shot them to death with arrows ere they could escape. But they had now to encounter a superior being. Two hundred savages approaching with fatal intent, caused no dismay in the heart of Smith. Binding the Indian guide firmly to his arm, he used him as a shield to preserve him from the arrows of the enemy, and with his musket he brought two of them dead to the ground. He would perhaps have reached the canoe—the savages fell back appalled by his

^a Smith's *Virginia*, i. 157; Stith, 50.

^b Smith's *Va.*, i. 158; Stith's *Va.*, 51; Keith's *Va.*, 63; Burk, i. 105.

courage—but while in full retreat, he sunk to the middle in a swamp, from which his utmost efforts could not extricate him. Excessive cold froze his limbs and deprived him of strength, yet the Indians dared not to approach until he threw away his arms and made signals of submission.^a They then drew him out, and chafing his benumbed body, speedily restored him to activity. His self-possession was never lost for a moment. Discovering that Opecanough was the chief, he presented to him a small magnetic dial, and made the simple savages wonder at the play of the needle beneath the glass surface. If they had previously regarded him as more than human, they were now confirmed in their belief; and when he proceeded to convey to them some idea of the spherical form of the earth, its motion on its axis and round the sun, and the existence of men standing opposite to them on this globe, their wonder knew no bounds.^b Yet the hope of crushing at once this powerful enemy seemed to prevail. They bound him to a tree, and prepared to pierce him through with arrows, when Opecanough held up the dial, and every arm fell;—each spirit was subdued, either by fear of his power or admiration of his knowledge.^c

The prisoner was then conducted in triumph to

^a The winter of 1607 was remarkable for its severity. Stith, 51. This was noted not only in America, but in Europe. Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 54; Burk's *Va.*, i. 106.

^b Purchas, iv., 1708; Smith, i. 158, 159.

^c Smith, i. 159; Burk, i. 107.

"Delighted with the needle's play,
The fly he could not force to stay,
He deemed it some magician's charm,
That might defend his land from harm;
And instant, with commandment loud,
He bade desist the frantic crowd."

Orapaques, a hunting town on the north side of Chickahominy Marshes, much frequented by Powhatan and his court for the game which there abounded. In the march the Indians walked in single file, their chief in the centre, with the captured swords and muskets borne before him, and the captive held by three savages, and watched by others with their arrows upon the string. Women and children came forth to meet them, wild with joy at so strange an occurrence. On arriving, the whole band performed a dance of triumph around the captive, yelling and shrieking in the most approved mode, and decorated with every hideous ornament that heads, feet, and skins of animals could supply. After this performance, he was conducted to a long house, and guarded by thirty or forty vigorous warriors. Bread and venison in abundance were brought to him, for which he had little appetite. The savages never ate with him, but devoured what he left some hours after; and this, with other things, caused him to suspect a design to fatten him for their table.^a His body was, however, destined to subserve better purposes than that of furnishing an Indian *ragout*. While thus desolate and chilled, he experienced an instance of savage gratitude which will not be forgotten. A native, to whom he had once given some beads and other toys, brought him his gown, which amply protected him from the freezing atmosphere.^b

^a Smith, i. 159; Stith, 52; Keith, 66. sater brought him his gown." Stith, 52; Burk, i. 108, in note.

^b Smith, i. 160. "One Maocas-

A danger from superstition now assailed him. The son of an Indian was dying, and the father would have slain the captive under the belief that he had caused this misfortune by his magic arts. Smith examined the patient, and told the savages that he possessed at Jamestown a water which would effect a cure, if they would permit him to go for it; but the wily natives were not willing to suffer a prey to escape whom they regarded as so valuable. They now conceived that in the absence of the "great captain," they might attack Jamestown with success; and they held forth to Smith magnificent offers of as many Indian beauties as he might select, and as much dower in land as he would have, if he would aid in their schemes. But savage sovereignty had few temptations for the champion of Christendom. To deter them from an attack, he painted in glowing colours the means of defence possessed by the English, the cannon, which could sweep hundreds down by a single discharge, and the mine of gunpowder, which would instantly blow a town into the air, and scatter its fragments in utter devastation.^a

The Indians were horror-stricken by these accounts; but some being yet incredulous, Smith offered to prove his veracity by sending messengers to the town. Writing a few sentences on a leaf from his tablets, he delivered it to the wondering red men, and awaited the result. In accordance with his directions, the colonists exhibited before the embassy a display of ordnance and fireworks,

^a Stith, 52; Burk, i. 109.

which nearly bereft them of their senses ; but afterwards going to a spot already designated, they found there precisely the articles which their prisoner had declared he would obtain. A man who could thus speak by a fragment of paper to people at a distance, was looked upon by savage eyes as more than mortal.^a

The natives were too much impressed with the importance of their capture to be willing to confine the wonder to a single tribe. They set forth on a tour of triumph, conducting Smith successively to Indian settlements on the Pamunky, the Mattapony, the Piankatank, the Rappahannoc, and the Potomac.^b Every where the prisoner was looked upon as a being of supernatural order, and when finally he was carried to the residence of Opecanough, on the Pamunky, a complete system of conjuration was entered upon to ascertain his nature.

The reverend gentleman who wrote the early history of our state, seems to look with pious horror upon "the strange and hellish ceremonies"^c used ; but a mind less disposed to gravity will read with amusement of the forms begrimed with coal, and painted with figures of snakes and weasels, the grotesque gestures, the furious dancing, the impassioned discourse, the circles of corn and meal, and the bundle of mystic rods, which entered largely into this wondrous incantation.^d If

^a Smith, i. 160 ; Stith, 52 ; Burk, ^c Stith, 53.

i. 109 ; Bancroft, i. 146.

^b Stith, 53 ; Smith, i. 160.

^d The reader will perhaps not object to see here a brief specimen of

the captive kept his own counsel, we may presume that the captors were not greatly enlightened as to his designs by these wise ceremonies. But they were at least as useful as their purpose to plant a bag of gunpowder obtained from Jamestown, from which they hoped to derive an abundant crop for future service.^a

Finally, the prisoner was conducted to the imperial seat of Powhatan. The Indian monarch so little enjoyed the neighbourhood of the English, that he often withdrew to Werowocomoco, in the county now known as Gloucester, and not far removed from the site of the military scenes, which resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis, in the war of the Revolution. Here Powhatan received his captive, and exhibited before him all the savage splendour that his court could furnish. Two hundred grim attendants surrounded him. On his either hand, sat a young girl of sixteen or eighteen years of age, and on each side of the room was a row of men, and, behind them, a corresponding number of savage ladies, with their necks and shoulders dyed with crimson, their heads bedecked with the white down of birds, and with chains of glittering beads around their persons. The noble captive was received with a shout of triumph, and Indian courtesy did not refuse him honour. The Queen of Appamaton, brought him

the poetry with which the writers in Captain Smith's history have plentifully besprinkled their narratives.

"They entertained him with most strange and fearefull conjurations:

"As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell."

Smith, i. 160.

^a Smith's Hist., i. 161; Stith,

water to wash his hands, and another damsel tendered him a bunch of feathers upon which to dry them. But among so many who regarded him with wonder and alarm, there was one heart which already began to beat with more generous feeling. Pocahontas, the daughter of the monarch, was now budding into womanhood, and cotemporary writers tell us of her beauty, her intelligence, her sensitive modesty. The noble bearing of the unhappy stranger filled her with pity and admiration. The king and his counsellors held the life of the captive in their hands, and already the voice of this gentle girl was raised in entreaties for his safety. But to suffer so formidable a foe to live, was adjudged imprudent. The sentence was pronounced, and immediate measures for its execution were commenced.

Two large stones were brought and placed at the feet of the Indian monarch. Then as many as could grasp him, seized the prisoner and forced him down, with his head upon the fatal resting-place. The clubs of the savages were raised, and another moment would have closed the life of a hero. But at this critical instant, Pocahontas, with a cry which thrilled through the assembly, threw herself upon the prostrate captive, and clasped her arms around his neck. Her own head was interposed to receive the threatened blow, and raising her eyes, which spoke the eloquence of mercy, to her father's face, she silently awaited the result. The bosom of the monarch relented. He could not take the life of one for whom the

child of his own nature thus interceded. Smith was raised from the ground and kept alive to minister to the pleasure of the generous girl who had thus preserved him.^a

There must have been something in the appearance and character of this great man, strongly attractive to a sensitive nature. He has himself, in manly terms, told us of his gratitude to woman for the love she had so often shown him;^b and after Pocahontas saved his life, her brother Nantaquas, "a youth of the comeliest and most manly person, and of the highest spirit and courage," devoted himself to him with much warmth of affection. Two days after the incident above narrated, Powhatan gave his captive an imposing spectacle of savage rites, urged him to send him from Jamestown two great guns and a grindstone, and then suffered him to proceed in safety to the English settlement.

Thus, after a captivity of seven weeks, Captain

^a This scene, which rivals the most romantic passages in the history of the world, is perfectly well authenticated.—See Smith, i. 162; Stith, 55; Beverley, 26; Keith, 70; Campbell, 39; Drake's Amer. Indian Biog., b. iv., c. i.; Grimshaw's U. S., 29; Frost's Pictor. Hist., i. 90; Marshall's Am. Colon., 35, in a very eloquent passage; Burk's account, i. 113, 114, is inflated and declamatory; Mr. Bancroft, i. 147, arms the executioners with tomahawks instead of clubs.

"Extended on the fatal block,
His eye awaits the coming shock
Of that dread club, upwhirl'd in air,
With muscle strained, and looks that glare.

A shriek arrests the downward blow,
And Pocahontas shields the foe:

'Father,' in shuddering agony she cries,
'Oh, spare this bosom, or thy daughter dies.' "

LAND OF POWHATAN. Canto IV.

^b Smith's Letter to the Duchess of Richmond, Hist., i. 58.

Smith returned to Jamestown with increased knowledge of savage life and manners. He treated his Indian guides with great kindness, and gave them two heavy guns and a millstone for the monarch. But the present was too heavy for their strength, and when one of the cannons was discharged among the boughs of a tree, and the crashing of wood and ice was heard, the timid natives declined any farther interference with agents so formidable.^a

The absence of Smith had caused disorder and insubordination in the colony. The pinnacle had again been seized, and again he was obliged to level the guns of the fort against her and compel submission. He was now personally assailed by a charge replete with stupid malignity. Some, who believed themselves skilled in the Levitical Law, accused him of being the cause of the death of Emry and Robinson, the two unfortunate men whom the Indians had slain, and with this pretext, they clamoured for capital punishment.^b To their insane charge Smith replied by taking the accusers into custody, and by the first vessel he sent them for trial to England. By his courage, his address, and his firmness, he now wielded great influence with the Indians, and proved the salvation of the settlement.

Early in the winter Newport arrived again from England, in one of the two ships despatched by

^a Smith's Va., i. 163; Stith, 56.

where killing by accident and with-

^b The only passage which gives the shadow of foundation for such a charge is in Numbers xxv. 22, 23,

out malice is made punishable, unless the homicide fled to one of the cities of refuge.

the Council, with ample stores, and nearly a hundred settlers. The other bark was the Phenix, under Captain Nelson, who by heavy gales was driven off the coast, and compelled to refit in the West Indies. Newport was eager to rise in the esteem of the savages, and sought to gratify his vanity by a grand trading excursion up the York River. Smith accompanied the bark to the royal residence, and watched with care the progress of the negotiations. The wily old monarch made a pompous speech to Newport, in which he told him it was beneath his dignity as a king, to trade in the manner of pedlers for trifles, and proposed that they should at once balance all the commodities on each side. The result was so managed that the English received about four bushels of corn for what they had expected to produce at least twenty hogsheads.^a But a keener mind soon restored the equilibrium. Smith passed before the eyes of his savage majesty a string of glittering beads of the deepest blue colour, and inflamed his great soul by telling him that, in the "far country," such were never worn except by the mightiest of kings. Instantly Powhatan determined to obtain them at any price, and so adroit was the English trader, that for a few pounds of blue beads he obtained several hundred bushels of corn, and yet they parted in perfect amity.^b Whether the maxim "caveat emptor" will justify such proceedings, we will not pretend to decide; but it is certain that these

^a Smith's Va., i. 167; Stith, 58.^b Smith, i. 168; Stith, 59.

simple ornaments soon obtained such ascendancy at the courts of Werowocomoco and Pamunky, that none but princes and nobles might venture to wear them; and it is equally certain, that in real value they were equivalent to a crown of gold or a tiara of jewels.

(Dec.) About this time, a conflagration broke out in Jamestown, and swept before it almost every house, with much clothing and provision. This disaster, together with the rigour of the season and the meagre food to which they were driven, caused many deaths and infinite suffering. But to give illusory comfort, a bright phantom rose before them, and delighted for a time, only to cover them at last with disappointment and shame.

(1608.) In the neck of land in the rear of Jamestown, they found a stream of water which sprang from a sand-bank, and bore along its channel a shining dust of most auspicious appearance. Forthwith uprose in the hearts of the starving settlers, the hopes of a golden harvest, or rather of a Pactolus, in the wilds of Virginia. All were now active in loading the ship with this valueless dirt. Visions of exhaustless wealth flitted before their eyes; and men now clothed in tatters, shivering with cold and attenuated by famine, were enjoying, in fancy, estates of princely proportions.^a In the mean time the Phenix arrived from the West Indies, and her commander generously imparted

^a Raynal's *Indies*, vi. 36; Bancroft's *U. S.*, i. 148; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.* i. 45. "There was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." Smith, i. 169.

his sea-stores to the starving colonists. Martin was madly bent on loading her also with the newly discovered treasure; but the remonstrances of Smith prevailed, and she sailed with a cargo of cedar wood. When these ships returned to England they carried back Wingfield and Archer; and if they brought to the mother country, as the first fruits of the settlement, nothing more valuable than dust and cedar, they at least relieved the colony from a mass of "admirals, recorders, chronologers, and justices of common pleas," all of which titles had been assumed by these two seditious idiots.^a

The ruling powers in England had given positive orders that war should not be made on the natives, and that they should be treated with uniform kindness. These commands, good in themselves, were liable to abuse; for the savages were treacherous, and often needed chastisement. When Newport was about to sail, Powhatan sent him twenty turkeys, and demanded as many swords, which were immediately given to him; but having made a similar demand of Smith, he met with a prompt refusal.^b This so irritated the natives, that they grew daily in fraud and insolence, seizing violently upon swords wherever they could find them. Martin bore all with cowardly patience; but Smith instantly fell upon them,—and capturing seven, gave them such admonition by whipping and imprisonment, that they confessed their fault, and Powhatan was well pleased to send his gentle daughter to

^a See Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 46; Stith, 60.

^b Smith's *Va.*, i. 171; Stith's *Va.*, 61; Keith, 76.

mediate between himself and the determined Englishman.

On the 2d of June, Nelson dropped down the river in the *Phenix*. Smith had now resolved on a general cruise of exploration among the islands and rivers of Virginia. He embarked in an open boat of three tons burden, and was accompanied by thirteen men, as well as by Walter Russel, a physician of high character and courage, who has given us a full account of their performances. Accompanying the *Phenix* to the capes, Smith then bade her adieu, and stretched across the outlet to the group of islands that have since borne his name. It would be interesting to accompany this undaunted navigator in the two voyages which he successfully accomplished, and which occupied him almost constantly from early in June until the 10th of September. It would be pleasing to follow him into every creek—to land upon every island—to mark each green valley, and study the nature of each unknown vegetable—to commingle with the natives, and learn their manners and language;—to see his firmness in repressing their attacks, and his gentle demeanour in asking their confidence—all this would afford a theme of genuine interest; but a minute account would be inconsistent with the due proportion of history. In an open boat, exposed to wind and weather, governing a crew of insubordinate spirits, and surrounded by treacherous enemies, he accomplished a voyage of nearly three thousand miles;^a and in its progress he ga-

^a Bancroft's *U. S.*, i. 149; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 47.

thered knowledge which has formed the basis of all that has since been learned of the natural features of our beautiful state. He penetrated each river to its falls—every where encountered the natives—awed the warlike by his courage—conciliated the peaceful by his gentle manners—discovered the exhaustless resources of the land, and made surveys from which he afterwards prepared a map of astonishing accuracy and extent.^a A spirit of hardy romance is diffused throughout the whole enterprise, and adds to our esteem for its heroic projector.

Sailing high up the bay, they coasted along the shore from the mouth of the Patuxent to the Patapsco River. The coast was well watered, though mountainous and barren,—but ever and anon a verdant valley refreshed their eyes, and the forests abounded with wolves, bears, deer, and other wild creatures. Here the spirits of the men began to fail under fatigue and exposure. To encourage them Smith made a speech, which Dr. Russel has preserved in full, and which is a fine specimen of manly admonition.^b He reminds them of Ralph Lane's party in Carolina, who had persevered while yet a dog and sassafras leaves remained for food; and, telling them of his willingness to share their greatest hardships, he urges them to resolute conduct. But some fell sick, and he was obliged

^a This map is now before me, in Smith, i., opposite page 149; it may also be seen in Purchas, iv., opposite 1691.

^b Russel's Narrative, in Smith, i. 176.

to return to the southern rivers. The magnificent expanse of the Potomac invited them to enter; and as they sailed up towards the falls, the richness of the country on either bank filled them with delight. In one part they found the fish so abundant that they were packed together with their heads above water; and having no nets, the voyagers attempted to take them in a frying-pan—an instrument which would have been more appropriately used *after* the capture.^a While in this river they were repeatedly assailed by large bodies of Indians, frightfully painted, and yelling like demons from the world of despair; but the steady discharge of muskets, and the glancing of balls from the water, damped their enthusiasm, and compelled them to surrender hostages to the voyagers. From these they gathered the fact that they were urged on by Powhatan, and that this monarch himself was impelled to action by the discontented in Jamestown, whom Captain Smith had kept in the country against their wills. How degraded must have been the population containing men so deliberate in perfidy!^b

They now desired to explore the Rappahannoc, but a singular accident deterred them. On entering its mouth their boat grounded at low tide, and in the idle hours thus afforded, they amused themselves by striking with the points of their swords

^a Stith's Va., 64; Russel's Narrative, in Smith, i. 178. Those who not think this account exaggerated.

have seen the enormous quantities of herrings caught each spring on the fishing shores of the Potomac, will ^b Hillard's Life of Smith, in Sparks's Am. Biog., ii. 260; Smith's Hist., i. 177.

the innumerable fish that played about the boat. Smith plunged his weapon into one of peculiar form, "like a thornback," with a long tail, and from its midst a poisoned sting, two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side. In taking this fish from his sword, it drove the sting into his wrist. No blood appeared, but a small blue spot was seen. The pain was torturing, and in four hours the whole hand, arm, and shoulder, had swollen so fearfully, that death seemed inevitable. With heavy hearts, his companions prepared his grave, in a spot which, with his accustomed calmness, he pointed out to them; but in the moment of despair relief was obtained. Dr. Russel applied the probe, and used an oil which he had fortunately with him. Entire success attended this treatment. The pain and swelling subsided, and the undaunted captain ate for his supper a fair proportion of the fish that had threatened his death.^a The spot near which this accident occurred was called Stingray Point, a name which it still retains.

From this first examination they returned to the settlement the 21st July. As usual, sickness, want, depression, and turmoil greeted their eyes. The imbecile Martin had sailed with Nelson in the *Phoenix*.^b Ratcliffe was now president, and while all around him were suffering with disease and privation, he entertained himself by having erected in the woods an elegant mansion for his own special comfort. Popular discontent might have been fatal

^a Hillard's Smith, Sparks's Am. Biog., ii. 262; Smith, i. 179.

^b Smith's Va., i. 172. Yet Mr. Burk has Martin still in Virginia! i. 121.

to this extravagant pretender but for the arrival of Smith. Ratcliffe was instantly deposed, and at length the only man truly fitted for the office was made president.^a Leaving his friend, Matthew Scrivener, as his deputy, to restore order and continue the repairs of the town, the indefatigable captain prepared for another voyage, and sailed with twelve men on the 24th July.

Proceeding immediately to the head of the bay, they passed some time in exploring its four principal inlets. As they crossed a part of its expanse, they encountered many canoes filled with the warlike Massawomecs, of whom they had received so marvellous accounts from the lowland Indians. A stratagem awed these warriors, and an interchange of arms and commodities took place.

They had now an opportunity of viewing the gigantic Susquehanocs, and of making those observations upon their size, their dress, and their manners, which have heretofore been narrated. The simple giants looked with boundless reverence upon the short religious ceremony with which Captain Smith invariably accompanied the duties of the day. The English had "prayer and a psalm," and the Susquehanocs forthwith followed up these Christian rites with a passionate display of worship after their own manner. Notwithstanding all opposition, they adored the English commander as a god: delivering an edifying discourse, with "most strange furious action and a hellish voice,"^b they

^a Stith's Va., 66; Hillard's Smith, ii. 263; Smith's Va., i. 180.

^b Smith, i. 183; Stith, 68.

covered him with a painted bear-skin, and hung around his neck an oppressive ornament of white beads, weighing at least six pounds, perchance to remind him of the weighty responsibility they would fain assign him.^a

Leaving these people, they next proceeded up the Rappahannoc. Mosco, an Indian from the Potomac accompanied them. They supposed him to be a descendant of some French settler, because he had a bushy black beard, of which he was extremely proud, and claiming to be related, he was pleased to call the English "his countrymen." He warned them of the warlike habits of the Rappahannocs, and they quickly found that he spake the truth. In no part of Virginia did they encounter more opposition, or meet with greater courage in the natives, than on the banks of this river. As they sailed up, a shower of arrows would pour upon them from bushes on the shores, behind which the archers had ingeniously concealed themselves, and nothing but the willow targets they had obtained from the Massawomecs protected them from serious injuries.

When they arrived at the falls, they set up crosses and carved their names upon the bark of trees. Many of them were rambling carelessly through the woods, when suddenly they were attacked by about one hundred Indians, who discharged their arrows with great precision, and ran rapidly from tree to tree, to protect their bodies from

^a Hillard's *Life of Smith*, ii. 267, 268; *Smith*, i. 183.

the fatal fire of musketry. A running fight of nearly half an hour was thus kept up, when the Indians vanished as mysteriously as they had first appeared. Looking over the battle-field, they found a single savage, wounded by a ball in the knee, and lying as though dead, but he soon revived, and was with difficulty preserved from the rage of Mosco, who earnestly asked the privilege of dashing out the captive's brains ^a

The voyagers set sail at night, and proceeded twelve miles down the river, followed all the way by the natives, who shrieked, yelled, and shot their arrows with all the energy of savage natures.^b Early in the succeeding dawn, they found themselves in a broad bay, caused by the lowlands skirting the river; and here they anchored out of reach of hostile missives.^c

After making peace with the Rappahannocs, they sailed towards the south. A terrible storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, visited them when a few miles south of York River, and with grateful hearts they made a point to which the name of "Comfort" might well be given. They visited the Chesapeake and Nansemonds, who lived around the place now occupied by the town of

^a "Never was dog more furious against a beare, than Mosco was to have beat out his brains." Smith, i. 186.

^b The author, in his boyhood, has often wandered amid the scenes where Captain Smith's fight with the Rappahannocs is supposed to

have taken place. It was probably near the present site of the town of Fredericksburg; but various indications prove that, during the past two centuries, the river has changed its bed at this spot.

^c Smith's Va., i. 188; Hillard's Smith, ii. 272.

Norfolk. Three hundred savages received them with a flight of arrows, shot as fast as they could draw their bows; but the English replied with musket-balls, and the natives left their canoes, and hid behind the trees on the shore. Smith resolved to burn the canoes and waste the country; but the Indians, perceiving his design, sued for peace, and gave their chief's bow and arrows, a chain of pearl, and four hundred baskets of corn, as the price of safety.^a

Returning in triumph from this expedition, the voyagers, without farther accident, arrived at Jamestown on the 7th day of September, after an absence of nearly two months.

On their return, they found Ratcliffe a prisoner for mutiny, many sick, some dead, Scrivener in perfect health, managing the government well, and rejoicing in the new harvest of corn, which had just been gathered in. This was the first grain produced by the industry of the colonists themselves, and might have been serviceable had it not been injured by rain.^b

Smith could now no longer refuse the office which the Council and colonists united in forcing upon him. On the 10th of September, he was formally elected president, and commenced vigorous measures for the welfare of the settlement. The church was rebuilt, the store-house repaired, a new building erected for supplies, the fort put in order,

^a Smith, i. 191; Stith, 74; Keith, 81; Hillard's Smith, ii. 277.

^b Hillard's Smith, ii. 278; Stith, 74; Burk, i. 125.

and a regular watch established. The men were diligently exercised each Saturday, and a martial spirit began gradually to displace habits of indolence and insubordination. The Indians often attended the drills, and looked with awe upon the firing of musketry, by which a file of soldiers would shatter with their balls the trunk of a tree at a considerable distance.*

The time of harvest among the natives having arrived, Lieutenant Percy was sent out with the boats to trade; but he had not gone far ere he met Captain Newport with a ship from England, containing another supply of settlers and provisions. In every load of colonists that had yet left the native country, we mark the usual superabundance of indolent gentlemen and dissipated cavaliers, to consume food and create sedition. We find few labourers and fewer mechanics. But in this last supply, came eight Poles and Germans, skilled in making tar, pitch, glass, mills, and soap ashes,—and two females, Mrs. Forrest and her maid Anne Burras, the first European women who had yet dared to exhibit their faces upon the shores of the Chesapeake.

Newport, with all the vanity of a weak and jealous mind, had obtained from the council in England instructions authorizing him, in some cases, to act independently of the council of the colony; and setting forth three objects, without obtaining one of which he was not to return to the mother

* Smith, i. 192; Stith, 76; Hillard's Smith, ii. 278.

country : these were a lump of gold, a discovery of the South Sea, or one of the lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh.^a He came also fully prepared to astound old Powhatan by a profusion of princely presents, such as a basin and ewer for the royal face and hands, a bedstead and bed to be substituted for the tanned hide that formerly subserved his majesty's purposes ; and by express command of the ignorant English council, he was to convey a barge above the falls of the river, and penetrate to the South Sea!^b Smith regarded with ill-concealed disgust these ridiculous pretensions ; but prepared, in good faith, to aid Newport in his schemes. The first grand affair to be accomplished was the coronation of Powhatan, in the name and by authority of King James of Britain. When a small party arrived at Werowocomoco,^c the presents were spread before the eyes of the king ; but Newport soon found that he had encountered a soul not to be dazzled by false show. Powhatan, with haughty coldness, told Smith that "if the English king had sent him presents, he also was

^a Smith's Hist., i. 192, 3 ; Bancroft's U. S., i. 150.

^b Stith's Va., 77 ; Hillard's Smith, ii. 280.

^c Smith, 194, 195, gives an entertaining account of a masquerade which Pocahontas caused to be exhibited before him on his arrival at Werowocomoco. Indian maidens, very nearly in the decorations of nature, were the "dramatis per-

sonæ ;" but if the Captain was himself the author of this short narrative, he could not have thought very highly of these damsels. He calls them "fiends," speaks of their "hellish shouts and cries," and bitterly complains of their tormenting him by "crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? love you not me?'"

a king; he would not go to meet Newport, and would wait but eight days for his coming; he desired not their aid against the savages above the falls, as he was able to avenge his own injuries; and as to the stories his people had told about the salt waters beyond the mountains, they were all utterly false." Newport now came, and all the presents, basin and ewer, beds, bedding, and royal garments, were prepared. The old king was to be crowned, and we know not whether to be more amused at the stupid farce arranged by James Stuart and executed by Christopher Newport, or struck with the noble independence of the Indian monarch. He was willing to wear the scarlet cloak and other regal apparel offered; but stubbornly refused to kneel, in order that the crown might be placed upon his head. He had never bended the knee to mortal man, and should he now humble himself before the men who had, as he believed, so deeply injured him? Vain were all protestations, examples, and persuasive addresses. Had the Archbishop of Canterbury stood ready with the anointing oil, the monarch of the forest would not have bowed before him. We can gather from the narrative no other inference than this, that several attendants pressed heavily on the royal shoulders, and that while he was thus bent by physical force, three others placed the crown upon his brow!^a

^a The full account is in Smith, i. 196; Stith, 78, 79; Hillard's Smith, ii. 285; Keith, 84. Mr. Burk's Irish bosom swells with pride in telling of Powhatan's obstinacy, and with his bosom swells his language. i. 129.

Immediately a pistol-shot was fired, and a volley from the boat announced the glorious coronation. Powhatan started to his feet in terrible fright, and seized his arms, but finding that this was part of the ceremony, he became calm, and, by way of making due return for the honour conferred on him, he presented to Captain Newport his worn mantle and his old shoes!^a Comment on gifts so dignified and so appropriate, is entirely unnecessary.

Newport now set forth with one hundred and twenty chosen men, to explore the country above the falls and discover the South Sea; but after wandering in the wooded country several days, exhausting their strength, provoking the natives, inflating their own light souls with the hope of having disclosed a silver mine, they returned to Jamestown, "deluded and disappointed, half sick, and all complaining, being sadly harassed with toil, famine, and discontent."^b

Smith had plainly foretold this result, and he now exercised his authority as president, in directing their labour to more profitable ends.

Leading a number of gentlemen and cavaliers into the forest, he set them to work with axes to fell the trees and prepare boards for building. He himself joined in the task, and shame drove these proud spirits forward. It has often been found, that men of good birth and refined manners, possess indomitable energy when they can be induced

^a Smith, i. 196; Stith, 79; Burk, i. 130.

^b Stith, 79; Hillard's Smith, ii. 287.

to apply themselves even to laborious bodily exertion. These gentlemanly wood-cutters soon began to relish their work, and took great delight in hearing the thunder of the lofty trees as they fell before their prowess. But fingers, which in England had perchance been decked with jewels, were sometimes blistered by the rough contact of an axe, and often tremendous oaths at every third blow attested the pain. Smith corrected this habit by counting the oaths, and for each one, at the close of the day, a can of cold water was poured down the sleeve of the offender.^a

But, while the president thus incited them to industry and union, the seeds of discontent were yet alive in the colony. It could not be otherwise with a mixed band of adventurers, compounded of every grade and character. Smith was indefatigable in endeavours to obtain provision, and exacted it from the Indians by every means in his power. His necessities alone can be pleaded in justification of some of his measures, and these necessities would not have existed but for the indolence and despicable jealousy of his companions. Newport envied his influence, and endeavoured to undermine him; but Smith finally threatened to send the ship to England and keep the captain, in order that by bitter experience he might learn the causes at work unfavourable to the settlement. This threat so awed him, that he hastened his departure.

While the ship remained, an active trade was

^a Smith, i. 197; Stith, 80; Hillard's Smith, ii. 288.

carried on between her crew, the settlers, and the natives. The savages brought furs, baskets, and "young beasts," and received in exchange powder, ball, and arms, as well as axes, hoes, butter, cheese, oatmeal, and oil. The policy of permitting them to have arms was strictly forbidden by Smith, and its fatal effects were made apparent in subsequent years.^a

The ship, being at length freighted, sailed under Newport's command. She left behind, among other colonists, Captains Waldo and Winne, as members of the Provincial Council.

Deep disappointment had been felt by the English council at the result of this enterprise, so far as it had been carried. Their expectations were extravagant, and their despondency was proportionably great. They had hoped for gold and silver, and they had obtained glittering sand and unwrought cedar. They had looked for accounts of abundance and content, and they had learned of famine and incessant discord. By Captain Newport they had sent an intemperate letter to Smith, complaining of the state of things in the colony, and declaring that, unless the expenses of this ship, amounting to about two thousand pounds, should be paid by her return cargo, they would abandon the settlers to their own resources.

To this ungenerous missive Captain Smith returned a letter, which has been preserved, and which is a fair transcript of his own vigorous, acute, and manly character. He refutes every charge

^a Smith, i. 199; Stith, 81; Burk, i. 131.

brought against himself,—and for the distress and dissensions of the colonists, he refers them to the true cause—that is, the character of the persons who had been sent—dissipated cavaliers and indolent gentlemen, who did nothing but consume what the industry of a few provided. He begs for mechanics, “carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees’ roots.” He lashes with unsparing severity the valueless beings who had possessed authority. Newport and Ratcliffe are fearlessly denounced. Their silly requirements as to the South Sea, the lump of gold, and Raleigh’s company, are treated with well-deserved freedom; and the scheme of employing Dutchmen in making glass and pot-ashes is shown to be false in economy; for these articles might be obtained on the shores of the Baltic greatly cheaper than they could then be produced in Virginia. Altogether this letter is an unanswerable reply to the complaints that had been made, and must have convinced the English council that one mind at least in Virginia was worthy of confidence.^a

The maiden lady, Anne Burras, who had come with the last adventurers, did not long pine for a husband. She was soon united to John Laydon, one of the original settlers; and this marriage was the first ever solemnized between Europeans on the soil of Virginia.^b

^a The letter may be found in full in Smith, i. 200–203, and more briefly in Keith, 87–89. dates this marriage in 1609, as doth also Oldmixon, Brit. Empire, i. 359. When he and Beverley agree, they

^b Smith, i. 204; Stith, 84; Burk, i. 130. Beverley, 19, erroneously are generally both wrong.

Powhatan was too observant not to perceive the difference in vigour of mind between the vain-glorious Newport and the resolute Smith. Some time after the ship had sailed, he sent a message to the president, inviting him to pay him a visit, and promising that if he would send men to build him a house, and send also a cock and hen, a grindstone, and other articles, he on his part would grant to the English a full supply of provisions. Smith resolved instantly to accept this offer; but knowing the treacherous arts of the savages, he prepared for every emergency, and determined, if necessary, to seize the person of the monarch, and retain him as a hostage until his demands were complied with.

Sending before him two Englishmen and four Germans to build the house for Powhatan, he left Jamestown on the 29th December, with a well-armed party of volunteers, who eagerly sought the service.^a

(1609, Jan. 12.) On arriving at Werowocomoco, the wary emperor received them with apparent surprise, and denied that he had sent any invitation to Captain Smith,—but when his messengers were confronted with him, he relaxed his caution, and attempted to give the affair a ludicrous turn. To their earnest demand for corn he gave dilatory replies, and would be satisfied with none of their commodities except swords and muskets. The

^a Burk, i. 132; Hillard's Smith, ii. 297; Smith, i. 205; Stith, 85. A strange anachronism occurs in the original account in Smith. They are said to have left Jamestown on the 29th December, and yet we are told afterwards that they spent their *Christmas* among the Indians!

English were now placed in circumstances highly critical and dangerous. They were surrounded by overwhelming numbers of warriors, who waited but a signal from the king either to fall openly upon them, or to cut them off by stratagem. And in addition to these, a secret foe now threatened them. The Germans who had been sent to build the king's house, with perfidy infinitely blacker than that of the savages, united themselves with the natives, and sought by a thousand schemes to involve the English in ruin.^a Their treachery was not fully discovered until nearly six months after this time, and thus their secret plan only rendered them the more dangerous.

But Smith never for a moment lost his self-possession. If the savage monarch was skilful in fraud, able in diplomacy, profound in dissimulation, and prompt in action, he had opposed to him one competent to meet him. A most ingenious system of manœuvres now took place. Powhatan delivered several long harangues, in which, under the cover of friendly professions and of kingly dignity, he veiled a purpose of bloody revenge. He told the English that he had outlived three generations of his own people, and now in his age he desired peace. Why should war exist between them to keep the settlers in watchful suspense, and the Indians in fear of death from swords and musketballs? He entreated his visitors to lay aside their

^a Purchas, iv., 1721, 1725. "Those damned Dutchmen," they are elegantly styled by the writer in Purchas. Stith, 89. See "Powhatan's Chimney," S. and W. Lit. Mess. for Sept., 1846, 539.

arms for a season, and come up to his quarters to partake of his hospitality. But the president was not thus to be deceived. He sternly reminded the Indian of his promises, reproached him for his refusal to perform them, admonished him of his own power, refused to give him weapons, and threatened to use them. It was at this stage of their debates that we are told the baffled emperor heaved a deep sigh, and uttered words so characteristic, so expressive both of his own disappointment and of his reluctant esteem for his adversary, that they merit a place in history.

“Captain Smith,” said Powhatan, “I never used any werowance so kindly as yourself, and yet from you I receive the least kindness of any. Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes, a bed, towels, or what I desired; ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his guns when I entreated him. None doth deny to lie at my feet, or refuse to do what I desire, but only you, of whom I can have nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will have whatsoever you demand. Captain Newport you call father, and so you call me; but I see for all, as both, you will do what you list, and we must both seek to content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your arms, that I may believe you; for you see the love I bear you doth cause me thus nakedly to forget myself.”^a

^a The speech is given as in the slightly the phraseology; Purchas, text in Smith, i. 210; Stith, 88, pre. iv. 1721. serves the substance, but changes

Determined now to proceed to extremities, Smith prepared to seize the king, and transport him to the settlement; but the ever-watchful savage took the alarm, and fled with his valuables, his women and children, leaving a few attendants to divert suspicion. The English commenced loading their boats with corn. The night approached—a storm of rain and wind arose and raged without intermission. A dark plot of death was arranged by the Indians; and, in the relaxed vigilance of the hour, the English might all have fallen. But a guardian spirit was near. Through the gloom of the forest, and the heavy rain of a rigorous season, Pocahontas hastened to the cottage where the president was reposing. Her feelings, long restrained, found relief in tears, and, with all the sensibility of a woman, she revealed the intended plot, warned them to prepare, and told them of her own danger, should it be discovered that she had disclosed the scheme of her father and his vindictive warriors.^a

This generous maiden had not been gone more than an hour, when eight strong savages arrived from the king's quarters, bringing professions of amity, and also platters of venison for the use of the English. The captain listened coolly to their insidious request, that the matches for the guns might be extinguished, made them taste every platter they had brought, and sent them back to the king with a message that he was ready to receive him.^b Thus the plot of the savages was

^a Smith, i. 212; Stith, 89, 90; Hillard's Smith, i. 306.

^b Smith, i. 212; Hillard's Smith, ii. 307; Keith, 99.

rendered abortive by the exertions of their monarch's favourite daughter.

We cannot justify Smith in his design to seize the person of Powhatan. War did not exist between them, and whatever may be the perfidy of savages, those who pretend to be Christians can never make this a plea for fraud and violence. Yet we find our admiration constantly growing with each step in the history of this great man. He was ever watchful, brave, and self-balanced. He controlled the vicious, awed the turbulent, encouraged the timid, and roused the indolent. Several periods occurred in the history of the colonists, when his genius alone preserved them from death, either by famine or by savage assault. He visited Pamunky, the seat of Opecanough, who was the first of the native chiefs in active and treacherous hostility to the English. With sixteen men, Smith encountered the chief, surrounded by nearly seven hundred braves, and he terrified them by an act of heroism which they long remembered. Seizing Opecanough in the midst of his army, he wound his hand in the long lock of hair that graced his head, and, turning a pistol against his breast, led him forth in sight of all his followers. Trembling with fear at this determined conduct, they threw down their arms, and, after a speech from the president, in which he threatened that "if they did not load his boat with corn, he would load her with their carcasses,"^a they professed their good-will, and complied with every demand.

^a Smith, i. 216; Keith, 103; Hillard's Smith, ii. 313.

Could his commanding spirit have been every where, much grief might have been saved to the settlers. During his absence, a melancholy event had resulted from the folly of one in whom he had felt some confidence. Matthew Scrivener had received letters from England, which encouraged him to hope that he might displace his friend in the presidency, and determined him to be "either Cæsar or nothing."^a In order to gain celebrity, he prepared for an excursion to Hog Island, which lies in the river, not far from Jamestown. Neither his own want of skill, the inclemency of the season, nor the remonstrances of his companions, could deter him. He embarked in an open boat, with ten others, among whom we note the names of Waldo, a member of the Council, and of Anthony Gosnold, a brother of the great navigator. A cold and boisterous day greeted their departure, and, in the storm which followed, the overladen boat sank beneath the waters, and not one of her unhappy crew was ever recovered.^b

The natives had long been satisfied of the weakness and incapacity generally prevailing among the settlers; but in proportion as they scorned the rest, did they esteem and fear the redoubtable Smith. The German traitors sought in vain for opportunities to destroy him; and so anxious was Powhatan on the subject, that he threatened several of his people with death if they did not cause that of his most

^a These are the words of the writer, in Smith, i. 217.

^b Smith, i. 217; Stith, 93; Keith, 105.

formidable foe.^a But all their attempts were vain. Poison was resorted to, and the savages of Virginia proved themselves capable of all the deliberate hatred common in Eastern despotisms; but they were not so skilful in chemistry as they were relentless in revenge. Smith was made sick for a time by their drugs, but took no farther notice of the attempt, than by having wholesome flagellation inflicted upon the poisoners.^b The president seemed to bear a charmed life. In one of his excursions, he was suddenly assailed by a chief of the Pasi-phays, a man of great strength and giant stature, who first tried to entice him into a snare, and then drew his bow upon him. When they grappled, neither was able to use his weapons; the Indian dragged his foe into the river, and a fearful struggle for life ensued. Smith seized his antagonist by the throat, and so firmly retained his grasp that the Indian sank beneath him, and suffered himself to be carried a prisoner to Jamestown. This Indian afterwards escaped; and when the president reproached two of his tribe, whom he made prisoners, with the flight of their chief, one, in a strain of savage oratory, told him he should remember that “the fishes swim, the fowles fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and live.”^c From these and other arguments they drew an excuse for their chief, so stringent, that the president made peace

^a Smith, i. 217; Hillard's Smith, ii. 316; Stith, 93.

^c Smith, i. 225; Stith, 96; Keith, 111.

^b Smith, i. 219; Stith, 94.

with the tribe, and they were afterwards his warm friends.

Thus the captain retained his influence with the natives. They began to regard his power with superstitious reverence, and accident confirmed their faith. A young Indian having been apprehended for stealing a pistol, was confined in a guard-room until the weapon was returned. To contribute to his comfort during the cold night, fire and a supply of charcoal were sent in, together with his food. The unlettered savage knew little of carbonic acid gas, and for the sake of humanity it is to be hoped that his captors knew not much more. The fumes of the burning charcoal soon deprived the hapless prisoner of consciousness, and when a companion, who brought back the pistol, found him, he was stretched, as though lifeless, upon the ground. The others commenced a grievous lamentation. The president arrived, and immediately directed the strongest brandy and vinegar to be applied, and used other remedies so successfully, that ere morning the patient was perfectly restored.^a Nothing more was necessary to the reputation of Captain Smith among the savages; he might have been made a king or a god at his pleasure. He who could give life to the dead was worthy of the worship of mortals.

The natives now desired peace, and used all means to conciliate the settlers. Stolen property was returned; arms were no longer snatched with

^a This account I find in a writer in Stith, 96; Keith, 113; Hillard's in Smith, i. 225, 226. It is repeated Smith, ii. 323.

open violence, or taken by fraud, and those Indians who were detected in theft were apprehended by Powhatan and sent for punishment to Jamestown.^a Thus the colonists became secure in their persons and property, and had the fairest opportunity for improvement in their general prospects. The president was untiring in energy, prudent in every undertaking; the arts were encouraged; glass, tar, and soap-ashes were tried; a well of excellent water was opened; twenty houses were built; the church was newly covered; nets and weirs were provided for fishing; fowls were domesticated, and increased with astonishing rapidity; Hog Island was peopled with its appropriate inhabitants.

Matters began to wear a bright appearance, and but two causes operated against their prosperity: the one was unavoidable, as it came in the form of innumerable rats, who destroyed vast quantities of their grain; the other was their own "insufferable sloth and unreasonable perverseness,"^b which often bade defiance to every exertion of the president, and plunged them again in distress and famine. The river abounded in sturgeon, which were caught by the lazy settlers, and eaten, sometimes alone, sometimes compounded with the esculent grasses of the soil around them. Rather than work, many were so mean in spirit as to permit themselves to be billeted upon the Indians, who fed their valueless bodies with great hospitality.^c

^a Hillard's Smith, in Sparks's Am. Biog., ii. 324.

^c Smith, i. 229; Stith, 99; Bancroft's U. S., i. 151.

^b Stith, 98; Hillard's Smith, ii. 326.

We can hardly attribute to the English council motives of pure philanthropy, for their desire to obtain some knowledge of the fate of Walter Raleigh's unhappy colony. It is more probable they were excited by the hope, that these men, by their communion with the natives, had secured some knowledge of the gold and silver mines supposed to be in the country, or, perchance, of that South Sea, which constantly rolled before the eyes of European fancy. But whatever may have been their motives, Smith did not neglect the duty imposed upon him. He had despatched Michael Sicklemore, a hardy and gallant soldier, with a small party, to the Chowan River, to seek acquaintance with the natives, and make inquiries about the lost settlers. Sicklemore returned at this time, having zealously fulfilled his duties, explored the country, ascertained its resources, and conciliated the natives, but without having gathered even a savage rumour concerning the abandoned colony. He was equally unsuccessful in his search for silk-grass, which had been assigned as one of the objects of his inquiries.^a

The treason of the Germans had now been fully developed. They were afraid to encounter the just indignation of the English settlers, and remained among the Indians in a state of mind and body sufficiently comfortless. Traitors themselves, they could hope for little countenance, even from the men to whom they had sold their honour. William Volday, a Swiss by birth, was employed

^a Stith, 99; Smith, ii. 230; Hillard's Smith, ii. 328.

by the president to offer pardon and safety to these misguided foreigners, with the hope of regaining them to the colony. But this messenger of peace, with doubly-refined treachery, united with the Dutchmen, and endeavoured to lead the Indians in a body against the unsuspecting settlement. When this plot was revealed at Jamestown, the utmost indignation prevailed, and a deliberate proposal was made to go to the native quarters and cut down these traitors in the very sight of Powhatan. This bold scheme was not accomplished; but the Indian monarch, finding he could no longer hope for advantage from his allies, disclaimed their attempt, and ever afterwards regarded them with an evil eye.^a

And now an unexpected arrival took place. Captain Samuel Argal entered the bay with a single ship, drawn by the hope of gain from the fishery of sturgeon and traffic with the colony. The laws indeed forbade the fishery, except to the settlers; but Argal was a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer of the London Company, who connived at the expedition.^b The colonists were well pleased with the wine and good provisions he brought, and the adventurer himself was not of a character to be deterred by mere legal obstacles. From him the Virginians obtained the first intelligence of proceedings in England which deeply

^a Smith, i. 231; Stith, 100; Hillard, ii. 330. knap, ii. 148, says, "a kinsman of Sir Thomas Dale;" but Stith is the

^b Stith, 100; Hillard, ii. 332; Belknap, ii. 148, says, "a kinsman of Sir Thomas Dale;" but Stith is the best guide.

affected their welfare, and to which we must now give due attention.

The London Company had been greatly disappointed in their hopes with regard to the colony. Gold and silver had flowed in continuous streams from the mines of South America to the coffers of Portugal and Spain, and English avarice demanded, why had not equal wealth been drawn from the bosom of the northern continent? Had their wisdom borne any proportion to their cupidity, the adventurers might have seen in the feeble settlements they were now establishing, the germ of lasting wealth and of happiness, which the richest minerals could not purchase; but their insatiate desires craved instant gratification, their hunger for riches called continually for sustenance, and they were at first better pleased with hopes of gold from a sand-bank, or of silver from shining dust on the shores of the Potomac,^a than with the most intelligent efforts for successful colonizing. It has been happy for Virginia that the gold she really possesses was not discovered in any quantity until long years of industry had established the tenants of her soil. Had the mines now open in the counties of Orange, Culpeper, Louisa, Fauquier, Stafford, and Buckingham,^b been even suspected to have existed in the days of the London corporation, it is not probable that Thomas Jefferson would ever have written the charter of American freedom, or that Washington would have gained a ratification of that charter in the trenches of Yorktown.

^a Smith, i. 178.

^b Murray's Encyc. Geog., iii. 521.

The company had a strong desire for commercial advantage rather than for colonial extension. Two years had now passed away, and they found not one of their brilliant dreams realized. No gold had brought sudden wealth; no precious wood had returned to repay the contributions of the motherland; no boat had penetrated to the South Seas, to connect the riches of the Indies with the ports of Britain. Forests had been felled, vegetation had been encouraged, only to bring disease and death to the settlers; Indian hostilities had raged with few intermissions; discord had distracted the counsels, and indolence had paralysed the strength of the colonists. These evils were too apparent to be longer neglected, nor can we censure the council for desiring to find a remedy; but we can note their blindness to their own faults, and their unworthy attack upon the only man who really merited praise at their hands.

Smith's administration had been firm and consistent. He had laboured ardently for the substantial welfare of the settlers, knowing that in *their* permanent success alone must depend the final profit of the company. He saw at once that no precious metals would be found, to meet the importunate demands of England; but he knew that the country was rich, its soil was fertile, its forests were valuable, its natural products were abundant—and his expanded view enabled him to perceive that only perseverance was necessary to make Virginia invaluable to the country that gave her birth.^a

^a See Hillard's *Life of Smith*; Sparks's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 345–352.

The London council blamed him for his salutary rigour towards the Indians, attributed to him the dissensions caused by the vices of the men they had themselves sent to the colony, and finally determined to seek an entire change in the government heretofore existing in Virginia. They accordingly applied to the King for a new charter, and on the 23d May he granted to them a patent, from which they promised themselves all manner of success.

We must now look to the terms of this second expression of royal wisdom, and see whether we can discover in it any thing favourable to the rights of the settlers themselves.* He who shall hope that greater privileges were now granted to them, will be sadly disappointed.

The King erected a gigantic corporation, under the name and style of the Treasurer and Company for Virginia. It consisted of more than twenty peers of the realm, among whom we note the distinguished names of Robert, Earl of Salisbury, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, Henry, Earl of Southampton, and of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. It consisted further of nearly one hundred knights, among whom we find Sir George Moor, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Herbert Crofte, and Sir Francis Bacon. Leaving the knighted ranks, the eye then glances along several massive pages of names, designating every class, from the stout English gentleman to the most humble trader

* This charter may be read in full in Stith's Appen., No. ii. 8-22, and in Hening's Stat. at Large, i. 80-98, in Hazard, i. 58-72.

who could invest money enough to become an adventurer. We then plunge into a sea of private corporations, as mercers, drapers, fishmongers, grocers, goldsmiths, skinners, salters, ironmongers, waxchandlers, butchers, saddlers, and barber chirurgeons: and in this we swim, until we begin to believe that London is about to pour out in full power its artisan force upon the shores of the new world. All these are invested with regular corporate privileges, as the right to fill vacancies, to elect new members, to have a common seal, and perpetual succession.^a

Having called this unwieldy monster into being, the King proceeds to divest himself of the powers held by the crown under the first charter, and to vest them in the corporation.^b A council was still to exist in England, to whom was committed absolute authority in governing the colony abroad. This council consisted of fifty-two persons, and was originally appointed by the King, but full power was given to the company to nominate, choose, displace, change, alter, and supply the members of this governing body, as a majority might see fit.^c The council was invested with authority to appoint all officers necessary to the colony; and, instead of the former provincial establishment of a president and council, we find a governor provided, who, with his counsellors, is invested with terrific powers in administering the laws enacted by the council in England, or (such laws not hav-

^a Charter, sec. iii., in Hening, i. 88.

^c Charter, sec. xi., in Hening, i.

^b Bancroft's U. S., i. 152.

90.

ing been enacted) in case of necessity, he is authorized to consult his own discretion, even in cases criminal and *capital*.^a In cases of rebellion and mutiny, the governor is empowered to call to his aid the arm of martial law, with as full energy as it might be employed by lieutenants governing other dependencies of the English realm; and he is himself to judge of the emergency calling for this stern exercise of power.

We deem it not necessary to dwell further upon the provisions of this charter, as many of them are substantially the same with those previously explained in speaking of the original patent. The observant reader will note, with pain, that not one political right is granted to the colonists, or secured to their children. They are transferred, without ceremony, from the grasp of a single hand to the busy manipulations of a thousand lawgivers, formed into a great commercial company, and wholly independent of the choice of the settlers. The power of the governor was enormous, and after experience proved that it did not exist in theory alone. The colonists were indeed mocked with clauses securing to them the rights of Englishmen, and the enjoyment of the laws and policy of the mother country;^b but these sounding promises never had any practical operation. And finally, with many pious wishes breathed for the conversion of the heathen, and against the bringing in of Romish superstitions, all intend-

^a Charter, sec. xxiii.; Bancroft's U. S., i. 152. xxiii. in Hening, i. 95, 96; Grahame's Colon. Hist. i. 52.

^b Charter, sec. xxii. and close of

ing to settle are required to take the oath of supremacy^a to the head of the church, in the person of a king, better fitted for the metaphysical debates of the learned host in Pandæmonium,^b than to give laws to the visible kingdom of Christ on earth.

Sir Thomas Smith was appointed treasurer. Of him we have heretofore spoken. He was first a merchant in London, amassed a large fortune, was made governor of the East India and Moscovy Company; sent by James ambassador to Russia; and was one of Walter Raleigh's assignees.^c Much blame has been cast upon this gentleman for his administration of some of the affairs of Virginia, and for the careless manner in which he permitted his accounts to be kept; yet we must award him due praise for his zeal, and for the integrity which he uniformly exhibited.

The company immediately prepared for strenuous efforts. Thomas West, Lord Delaware, was elected governor and captain-general of the colony. This appointment was highly judicious, for it fell upon a man distinguished in birth, high-minded and generous in disposition, of commanding talents, and of peculiar fitness for the duty of superintending an infant settlement.^d

^a Charter, sec. xxix., in Hening, i. 98; Grahame, i. 52; Marshall's Am. Colon. 41, 42.

^b ——— "Reason'd high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will and
fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end in wandering mazes
lost.

* * * * *
Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy!"
PARADISE LOST, Book ii.

^c Belknap's Am. Biog., ii. 100;
Hening, i. 90.

^d New Life of Virginea, ii., in
Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. i.; Bel-
knap's Am. Biog., ii. 115; Hub-
bard's note.

Emigrants now offered themselves from every quarter and of every class. Nine vessels were equipped, and furnished with every thing necessary to safety during the voyage, and to the comfort of the colonists on their arrival. They carried nearly five hundred settlers, besides their crews, and set forth under auspices so flattering as to attract to their enterprise the title of "the Virgine voyage."^a Lord Delaware remained yet in England, intending to follow them in the course of a few months. Sir George Somers was appointed admiral of Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates lieutenant-general, and Christopher Newport commander of the fleet; but by a most unwise arrangement, these three officers all embarked in the same ship, being unable to determine among themselves the important question of priority.^b

They sailed from Plymouth on the 2d day of June, and notwithstanding their express orders to proceed immediately westward, they went as far south as the twenty-sixth degree of latitude, and paid the penalty of their delay in disease and death among their crews. But a more imposing danger now assailed them. On the 24th July, a tremendous hurricane came on, attended with all the horrors of a tropical storm. The heavens became gradually darker, until they assumed a pitchy hue;

^a New Life of Virginea, 9, 10, in Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. i.

^b Smith, i. 234; Belknap, ii. 120; New Life of Virginea, 9. The names of the vessels were "the Sea-Ad-

venture, the Diamond, the Falcon, the Blessing, the Unity, the Swallow, the Lion, with a ketch and a pinnace." Belknap, ii. 120.

the lightnings were incessant, and the thunder seemed to burst immediately above the tops of their masts; the wind blew with so much fury, that sails were torn from the yards, masts were carried away, and the sea, rolling in huge waves over their decks, swept off every thing that could be displaced, and entering the holds, it reduced many of their cargoes to ruin.^a In this awful tempest, the ships of the fleet were all separated, and the ketch, unable to weather the storm, foundered at sea, and all her crew were lost. Leaving the other ships for a season, we must now follow the *Sea-Adventure*, in which the three principal commanders had embarked together.

This stout vessel was heavily laden with provisions, and carried out also the commission for the new government in Virginia. Her safety was all-important, but it seemed impossible that she could survive. A leak admitted streams of water, and incessant pumping for three days and four nights could scarcely keep her afloat. During all this time, the venerable Somers kept the deck.^b His gray locks streamed in the tempest and were saturated with rain, yet his self-possession never deserted him. Even when his exhausted crew abandoned all hope, and, staving the spirit casks, en-

^a Purchas, iv. 1735, 1736. The account of this storm in Purchas, is fearful scene. Smith, i. 235; Belknap, ii. 121.

given by one who deals largely in extravagant rhetorical figures; but his imagination was evidently heated to intensity by the recalling this ^b "At the time of his appointment to be admiral of Virginia, he was above sixty years of age." Belknap, ii. 117.

deavoured to drown thought in intoxication, he retained his calmness, and was the first to discover land. The ship struck the ground about half a mile from the shore, and was thrown in such a position between two rocks, that all on board were easily saved.

The island on which they were wrecked was one of the well-known Bermuda group, lying in the Atlantic, about six hundred miles from the American coast.^a They have never been remarkable for fertility; but their climate is charming. When approached from the seaboard, they present a most picturesque appearance; and they have been invested with peculiar interest by the notice of an English poet, who once passed a season of his life within their rocky barrier.

The isle they first reached was uninhabited. It had previously been visited by Spaniards, and in 1591 an English ship had been cast away upon its coast, but now none of the human species were left. It was moreover supposed to be enchanted. Strange tales of demons and monsters of fantastic form had been received, and the English sailors were alive to all the superstitions of their class.^b But they had no reason to complain of inhospitable

^a Murray's Encyc. Geog., iii. 296; Raynal's Indies, v. 65-68.

Bermuda, walled with rocks, who does not know?

That happy island! where huge lemons grow,

And orange trees, which golden fruit do bear,

Th' Hesperian garden boasts of none so fair;

Where shining pearl, coral, and many a pound,

On the rich shore, of ambergris is found.

WALLER. BATTLE OF THE SOMER ISLANDS. English Poets, viii. 47.

^b Purchas, iv. 1737; Henry May's Nar., in Smith, ii. 117, and post, 121; Belknap, ii. 124; Jordan's News from Bermudas, 1613, in Belknap.

treatment in this fairy land. The air was pure—the heavens were serene—the waters abounded with excellent fish—the beach was covered with turtle—birds of many kinds enlivened the forests—and the whole island swarmed with hogs, which were so numerous that very little labour sufficed to procure plenty.

Amid this profusion they remained nine months. The loveliness of nature had not subdued human passions. Somers was envied, and the commanders lived apart; yet the influence of the good admiral was exerted to have daily worship,—and on Sunday, divine service was performed, and two sermons were preached by Mr. Bucke, their chaplain. In the brief space of this sojourn, one marriage was celebrated, two children were born and baptized, five persons died, of whom one was murdered,—and when they left the island the murderer escaped, and with another culprit remained, to be afterwards instrumental in a singular discovery.^a

(1610.) Many were so well pleased with the climate and resources of this island that they would willingly have made it their abode. But the admiral longed for Virginia. Two vessels were constructed from the cedar of the isle—the lower seams were calked with the old cables and other cordage saved from the wreck—the upper seams were filled with a mixture of lime and turtle's oil, which soon became hard as a stone. Sir George Somers had but one single piece of iron in his bark, a bolt in her keel,—yet these vessels proved strong and sea-

^a Belknap, ii. 125; Jordan's account, in Smith, ii. 122.

worthy. They were supplied with such provisions as they had saved from the *Adventure*, and with a large store of pork from the wild hogs of the island, cured with salt obtained by crystallizing the sea water on the rocks around them.

(1610.) Thus prepared, they set sail on the 10th of May, and steered directly for Virginia. Their vessels bore the appropriate names of *Patience* and *Deliverance*; yet in the brief voyage unexpected dangers severely tried the one, and threatened the existence of the other. At length, on the 24th, they made Point Comfort, and sailed up the river to the long-sought settlement. But here a heavy disappointment awaited them. Instead of plenty and peace, they found starvation and wretchedness—instead of smiling faces and looks of welcome, they met gaunt forms and wasted strength—miserable beings, who with difficulty dragged themselves forth to receive their countrymen. To explain this gloomy scene, we must go back to the time when, during the hurricane, Sir George Somers, in the *Sea-Adventure*, was separated from the rest of the fleet.

(1609.) Seven vessels rode out the storm, and arrived, in a shattered condition, in Virginia, during the month of August. So considerable a fleet caused alarm; and believing them to be Spaniards, the president prepared to greet them warmly with shot from the fort. The Indians came forward, and offered their aid in defending the settlement;^a and had not the mistake been speedily discovered, the

^a Stith, 102; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 53.

English ships might have received a rude welcome. When the new colonists were landed, it was soon discovered that the supply of provisions they brought, with that at the settlement, was hardly adequate to their wants. But even this was a small evil, when compared with that flowing from their own vicious characters. We have heretofore had occasion to speak of the quality of the material forming the settlement,—but all that had before been sent were virtuous in contrast with those of the late importation. Gentlemen, reduced to poverty by gaming and extravagance, too proud to beg, too lazy to dig—broken tradesmen, with some stigma of fraud yet clinging to their names—footmen, who had expended in the mother country the last shred of honest reputation they had ever held—rakes, consumed with disease and shattered in the service of impurity—libertines, whose race of sin was yet to run—and “unruly sparks, packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home,”—these were the men who came to aid in founding a nation, and to transmit to posterity their own immaculate impress;^a—and, to crown all, the three men, Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin, who had been sent away from the colony with the hope that they were gone for ever, now returned, to present again a rallying point for insubordinate folly.

^a Those who suspect exaggeration here may consult Smith, i. 235; New Life of Virginea, 10, vol. i.; Stith, 103; Keith, 116, 117; Belknap, ii. 122, 123; Bancroft, i. 154; Beverley, 21, 22.

colonies, was inhabited at first only by *vagabonds*, destitute of family and fortune.” Raynal’s Indies, vi. 44. I have not examined the original, but presume the translator does the learned Abbé no injustice

“Virginia, like most of the other in rendering this passage.

Immediately all was confusion and turbulence; the new officers declared that by the charter every function of the old government had been destroyed, and they insisted that the president could no longer exercise authority. Smith would most willingly have abandoned the thankless office he held, and bade adieu to a colony that seemed destined to misrule;^a but no higher functionary had yet arrived to displace him, and he could not calmly view the ruinous freaks of these arrogant pretenders. Acting with his usual promptness, he arrested Ratcliffe and Archer in the full tide of mutiny, threw them into prison, and kept them closely confined until he should have time to bring them properly to trial. This resolute conduct awed the rest, and reduced them to something like submission; but knowing that idleness would quickly inflame the old malady, he sought means of employing them. He despatched Captain West, with a hundred and twenty men, to form a settlement at Powhatan, just below the falls; and sent Martin, with nearly an equal number, to Nansemond, for a similar purpose. His year having nearly expired, he resigned the presidency to the last-named person (whose proper title seems to have been Sicklemore), but the new president, after wearing his honours during the protracted space of *three hours*,^b declared himself wholly incompetent, and once more the magnanimous Smith was compelled to assume the office.

West was a man of easy and indolent temper,

^a Stith, 103; Hillard's Smith, ii. 339.

^b Stith, 104.

little fitted for struggling with the difficulties of a new country. The president was obliged to go in person and purchase from the Indian king a place for the new settlement. It was not far from the falls, and possessed so many advantages of nature that the English called it "Nonesuch," a name certainly more expressive than elegant. But the disorderly gang assembled here did nothing useful. They mutinied against the president, robbed the savages, broke open their houses, spoiled their gardens, and in other ways so incensed them that, a short time after Smith's departure, twelve natives, well armed, fell upon the hundred and twenty colonists, killed several as they wandered through the woods, and kept the whole in mortal fear for their lives. So thoroughly were they frightened by this insignificant band, that they sued for peace with the president, and entreated him to protect them. He placed some of the most refractory in confinement; and having by his influence appeased the Indians, he again left them to return to Jamestown. But as he passed down the river, a most unfortunate casualty befell him. While asleep in the boat, his powder-bag accidentally took fire, and the explosion tore the flesh from his body, and inflicted a terrible wound. In the agony of pain he endured, he plunged into the water, and was with much difficulty saved from drowning. In this dangerous condition he was conveyed nearly one hundred miles to the fort. It might be supposed that the helpless state of this brave sufferer would have excited compassion in bosoms of stone.

But Ratcliffe and Archer, with others equally diabolical, conspired to take his life. A murderer was sent to his bed with a pistol, but in the critical moment his heart failed him, and he suffered his proposed victim to live.^a

Unable to procure in the colony such surgical aid as he needed, Captain Smith determined to return to England. His purpose was soon made known; and the better hearts among the settlers, concurring in his views of the necessity for this step, took leave of him with unfeigned sorrow, and elected George Percy president in his stead. Thus, early in the autumn of 1609, the hero of Virginia left her shores, never again to return.^b

It would not be consistent with the purpose of this work to follow him further in his career. His active spirit could not remain unemployed; and to him New England is indebted for much of the interest which at last drew hardy settlers to her shores. We shall meet again with Smith under circumstances honourable alike to his head and to his heart. We have seen enough already to convince us that he united in himself rare virtues, and that his faults were those of an ardent and generous temperament. Those who knew him best have borne testimony to his noble character. Justice was the pole-star of his life; experience formed the basis of his views; selfishness had no place in his bosom; falsehood and avarice were

^a Narrative, in Smith, i. 239; Hillard's Smith, ii. 343, 344.

^b Stith 109; Hillard's Smith, ii. 344; Smith i. 240.

hateful to his soul. Thrown in early youth upon the world, he partook of its excitement without imbibing its corruption; bred in a camp, he yet avoided the proverbial vices of the soldier, and was never a slave to "wine, debts, dice, or oaths."^a Prompt in decision and formidable in conflict, he was yet gentle in victory, and open to the approaches of confiding dispositions. The savages themselves, though often foiled by his prudence and defeated by his courage, respected him as a friend, and even loved him as a father.

This great man died in London in the year 1631, at the age of fifty-two. The events attending his death are obscure, and his own genuine modesty has concealed many facts which the world would have rejoiced to learn.^b

If we needed any proof of the inestimable benefit that John Smith had conferred on the Virginia colony, we might find it in the disasters which almost immediately followed his departure. He left behind him more than four hundred and ninety persons,—of whom at least one hundred were well-trained soldiers,—twenty-four pieces of ordnance, a large quantity of muskets, firelocks, shot, powder, pikes, and swords, sufficient for the whole colony; nets for fishing, tools for labour, clothes to supply all wants; horses, swine, poultry, sheep, and goats in abundance; a harvest newly gathered; three ships, seven boats: every thing, in short, that could be required for the wants of the idle, and more than

^a Stith, 112; Burk, i. 156.

^b Hillard's Smith, ii. 388.

enough to have satisfied the industrious.* We shall see, with pain, this profusion squandered; these resources turned to the worst purposes, and these fair numbers diminished by their own vicious courses.

George Percy was constantly sick, and could give no personal attention to the government. Riot and sedition every where prevailed. The Indians, emboldened by their discord, and irritated by their insolence, assailed them on every side; drove in the feeble settlements at Nansemond and Powhatan, which West and Martin had planted, and threatened Jamestown itself with destruction. The king threw off his apathy and assumed his wonted power. Plots thickened around them; ambuscades were prepared in every forest hedge; the settlers dared not wander forth in search of food or of recreation; those who were so rash as thus to expose themselves were, with few exceptions, destroyed by the natives. Hemmed in on every side, harassed by the Indians, distracted by their own profligate disputes, the wretched colonists now began to experience the tortures of famine. Their provisions either failed entirely, or were rendered unwholesome by decay. Diseases spread rapidly among them, and death commenced his race. Maddened by suffering, they invoked curses on the head of Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer in England, imputing to him a scarcity caused by

* Smith, i. 240, 241; Stith, 107; Colon. Hist., i. 56; Marshall's Am. Hillard's Smith, iii. 344; Grahame's Colon. 44.

their own riotous folly.^a Powhatan lost no opportunity for an exercise of his treachery and his revenge. By specious promises he tempted Ratcliffe and about forty men within his reach, for the alleged purpose of trade. The savages suddenly fell upon them, and not one escaped except a helpless boy, whom the generous daughter of the king rescued from the hands of the murderers.^b

Their misery had now nearly reached its height. Weakened by disease, and sunk in profound gloom, one after another the colonists descended to the grave. Famine, in all its horrors, was among them. For years, even for centuries afterwards, this fatal season was spoken of as "The Starving Time." As their regular food disappeared, they were driven to the most revolting means for sustenance. The skins of their horses were prepared by cooking, and yielded precarious support; and it is related that the body of an Indian, who had been slain, was disinterred and eagerly devoured by these civilized cannibals! The soul sickens at such recitals, yet are we compelled to go farther. Several historians relate that one miserable wretch, in the pangs of hunger, killed his own wife, and fed upon her body several days before the deed was discovered!!^c Unwilling to believe, we seek for some explanation of this horrible account; but we find nothing to mitigate it, except the fact, that

^a Stith, 116; Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 104-106; *New Life of Virginia*, 10; Force's *Tracts*, vol. i.; Oldmixon's *Brit. Emp.*, i. 362.

^b Stith, 116; Burk, i. 157.

^c Smith, ii. 2; Stith, 116; Keith, 121; Burk, i. 157, citing Stith.

the monster slew his wife from hatred and not to gratify his hunger, and that the discovery of her dismembered body in his house was the means of his detection.*

Of all that Smith had left in Virginia, sixty persons only now survived; and these maintained a feeble existence upon roots, herbs, and berries, with a few fish taken from time to time in the river. (1610, May 24.) Ten days more would probably have closed the scene, and Somers and Gates, on arrival, would have found the settlement tenanted only by the dead. The view really presented was indeed little more cheering. Weak, pallid, emaciated, with feelings made callous by suffering, and selfish from the very intensity of misery, the survivors received their countrymen in hopeless gloom. To remain longer upon this fatal soil, was a thought they did not encourage for a moment; and even had they desired it, the provisions brought by the ships would not have supplied their wants. With difficulty the two commanders could gather from the confused accounts of the settlers, some notion of their sufferings, and of the causes that produced them. It was determined that all should embark, and sailing first to the banks of Newfoundland for a supply of food, that they should then proceed immediately to England.

With that association of thought and feeling so

* See Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 106, 107; Purchas, iv. 1757. This man life he fed upon her remains; but his guilt being fully proved, he finally confessed the murder, and was burned to death, according to law.

natural, yet so saddening to review, the settlers proposed to burn their ancient home, and thus sweep away at once the vestiges of their misery;^a but Sir Thomas Gates steadily resisted this barbarous design.

Having buried their ordnance at the gate of the fort, they prepared for their departure. The drum beat a melancholy measure, and, at its sound, the colonists embarked in four pinnaces, and, on the 7th of June, turned their backs upon the deserted settlement. The Virginian who loves his state, cannot look, without deep feeling, upon this sad page in her history. Twenty-five years had passed away since the first feeble colony of Raleigh had gained the shores of North Carolina. Brave hearts had been called into action, noble lives had sunk in death under the influence of the climate, and now at last it seemed as though the last effort had been made and had failed. The beautiful country was to be deserted; the houses, which English art had built, where Christian rites had been solemnized, and where some of the sweet pleasures of civilized life had been tasted, were soon to be overtopped by the weeds of the field, or converted to the purposes of savage superstition. But the Author of good willed it not so.

On the morning of the 8th, the vessels had been wafted by the ebb tide to Mulberry Island Point, and, while awaiting the turn of the flood, they discovered a boat approaching from below. In one

^a Stith, 117; Belknap's Am. Biog., ii. 127.

hour, she was alongside the governor's pinnacle, and aroused even the desponding minds aboard, by information that Lord Delaware had arrived from England with three ships and an ample supply of provision, and that hearing at Point Comfort of the proposed abandonment of the colony, he had sent this boat before him to encourage them and prevent their departure. Instantly, as if by magic, a load of depression was rolled from the hearts of the colonists, hope once more dawned upon them, gloom deserted their countenances—a leader had arrived, able to minister to their necessities and to govern their counsels. Spreading their canvass to a fair easterly wind, the whole fleet sailed up the river, and, on Sunday, the 10th of June, they came to anchor at the very spot which, two days before, they had left, with a stern resolve never to return.^a

^a Simmons's Narrative, in Smith, ii. 3; Stith, 117; Beverley, 24; Keith, 122; Belknap, ii. 127, 128; Oldmixon, i. 363; Marshall, 46; Robertson, i. 409. Burk waxes highly graphic and poetic in writing of this event, i. 160, 161.

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Delaware—Death of Sir George Somers—The governor's health fails—Sir Thomas Dale, High Marshal of Virginia—Sir Thomas Smith's martial law—Its expediency—Third Charter of James—The London Company—Seizure of Pocahontas—Her intermarriage with Rolfe—Peace with the Indians—Argal captures Port Royal—Baptism of Pocahontas—Tobacco—Dale embarks for England, accompanied by Rolfe and Pocahontas—Captain Smith and his preserver—Death of Pocahontas—Her descendants—Uttamatomakkin—Argal deputy governor—Death of Lord Delaware—of Raleigh—of King Powhatan—Argal's tyranny—First General Assembly—Convicts sent to Virginia—Dispute with King James concerning tobacco—Negro slaves introduced—Women imported—Sir Francis Wyatt—Opecancanough—Indian massacre—Its disastrous effects—King James oppresses the London Company—Their noble independence—Royal commissioners in Virginia—Writ of quo warranto—Earliest laws of the Assembly—King dissolves the London Company—He prepares to issue new laws for Virginia—His death.

WHEN Lord Delaware landed on the shore at Jamestown, he immediately knelt, and, for a season, continued in silent devotion. Then rising, he attended divine service in the church, and endeavoured, by his example, to inspire his followers with a sense of gratitude for their late deliverance, and of dependence upon the Supreme Being for future safety.^a From these facts, we obtain some insight into the character of this devout and upright nobleman. He then read his commission

^a Belknap's American Biography, ii. 128; Smith, ii. 4; Dr. Hawks's Ecclesiastical History of Virginia, 22.

and delivered a calm address, admonishing the vicious, encouraging the good, threatening to draw the sword of justice against the intractable, but declaring that it would give him as much pain to shed their blood as his own. General applause followed his speech, and, with cheerful zeal, all prepared for their respective duties. Houses were repaired, defences made good, fields reclaimed after long neglect, and some French vintners, who came over with Delaware, commenced planting vines, in order to a harvest for the next year.^a

It may not be amiss here to notice the unhappy, but well-merited fate of the German traitors, who had given the colony so much annoyance. Few of them died by natural death. One, after returning for a time to the English, during their distress, fled again to the Indians, promising them great gain from his influence with Lord Delaware when he should arrive; but Powhatan coldly replied, that as he had endeavoured to betray Captain Smith to the savages, so he would perhaps endeavour to betray *him* to this great lord; and, without farther discussion, caused the traitor's brains to be dashed out by one of his people. Volday, the Swiss, had escaped to England, and there having excited expectations by enormous lies concerning gold mines in Virginia, he was permitted to return with Delaware; but his imposture having been discovered,

^a Smith, ii. 5; Belknap, ii. 129. now raised in the neighbourhood of Grapes did not immediately prosper Richmond and other places, and good in Virginia, but large quantities are wine is obtained from them.

he died, laden with the scorn and contempt of all who encountered him.^a

Lord Delaware, in every respect, proved himself well fitted for his arduous task. But a scarcity of provisions soon occurred; and to remedy it, Sir George Somers offered to proceed with a ship to the Bermuda Isles, and bring back a supply of pork procured from the wild hogs there abundant.^b (June 19.) His offer was gratefully accepted. He embarked in his own cedar vessel, and Captain Argal accompanied him in a smaller bark. But the latter was soon forced back by heavy weather; and in order not to lose entirely his expedition, he sailed to the Potomac River—traded with the savages—found among them the boy Henry Spilman, who had been saved by Pocahontas during the starving time,—and by the influence of this mediator, he obtained a full freight of corn, and returned in good spirits to Jamestown. Meanwhile, Somers had buffeted his stormy way to the Bermudas. Hogs were found in profusion, killed, salted, and packed away for the use of the colony. The brave old knight was preparing to return, when a malady, engendered by the fatigue and exposure he had lately undergone, assailed him, and soon terminated his valuable life.^c

His dying admonition to his nephew required

^a Stith, 103.

^b Stith, 118.

^c Smith, ii. 6, and 153; Stith, 118, 119; Belknap's Am. Biog., ii. 131, 132, Hubbard's note. In Smith we have an account of a monument

afterwards erected in the Bermudas, over the place where Sir George Somers's heart was interred. The curious may read the epitaph, p. 153; or in Belknap, ii. 133.

that the ship, with her provisions, should proceed to Virginia; but his orders were disregarded. The bark sailed to England, conveying the body of this venerable man to be deposited at White Church, in Dorsetshire.

While Lord Delaware retained his health, he was ever active and judicious in devising and executing plans for the welfare of the colony. His treatment of the Indians was more decided and harsh than that of Smith had been; and the savages loved him less, and hardly respected him more.^a But his lordship soon experienced the effects of the Virginia climate. Agues, chills, dysentery, cramp, and gout, successively assailed him, and forced him to fly from a land requiring so severe a process of *climatization*.^b (1611, March 28.) He sailed to the West Indies, enjoyed the mineral baths of the Isle of Mevis, ate oranges and lemons on their native soil between the tropics, and finally went to England, being advised by his physicians not to return to Virginia until his health should be perfectly restored. Dale and Gates having both gone before him to the mother country, George Percy

^a Bancroft's U. S., note, p. 158, vol. i.; Stith, 120.

^b Lord Delaware's discourse of 1611, in Smith, ii. 8, 9; new Life of Virginia, in Force, i. 11; Stith, 120. With fear and trembling I have ventured to coin the word "*climatization*," to express the idea of becoming gradually accustomed to a new climate. It springs naturally from

the original root, and in this migratory age I think our language needs such a word. Of this need the best proof is found in the existence of the words "*acclimate*, *acclimation*," which are, I believe, purely American; and which, being gross departures from the rules of etymology, should be at once discarded.

was again left at the head of affairs. He was of good birth, of easy disposition, and of pleasing manners; but his body was feeble, and his mind partook of its imbecility.

The council in England, still disappointed and surprised by the continued disasters of their undertaking, questioned Sir Thomas Gates closely as to the evils affecting the colony, and seem at one time seriously to have contemplated its total abandonment. But better counsels prevailed. It was clear that the country itself was rich and beautiful; and to suffer it to return to barbarism seemed a retrograde movement to which the expanding spirit of England could not submit. Again an expedition was prepared. Three ships, filled with men, cattle, and wholesome provisions, were placed under the care of Sir Thomas Dale, who was appointed High Marshal of Virginia. He arrived at the settlement on the 10th of May, and found affairs relapsing into their former confusion. No corn was planted—no ground prepared—houses were neglected—fences destroyed—and the inhabitants, rejoicing in the sweet season which had already covered their land with flowers and fruits, were entertaining themselves daily with bowling games and other gentlemanly diversions in the streets of the town.^a The Marshal immediately set the idle company to work in felling trees, and preparing pales and posts for a new settlement, which he had determined to commence. He selected for its site a neck of land,

^a Stith, 122; Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 134; Smith, ii. 10; new *Life of Virginea*, in Force, i. 12.

nearly surrounded by a bend of the river, about ninety miles above Jamestown; and, in honour of the cherished memory of Prince Henry, he called his new seat Henrico.^a

But finding the people still turbulent, idle, and devoted to their own selfish enjoyments, Dale prepared for more vigorous measures. To provide for emergency, Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the Council, had sent over by the last arrival, a "code of laws," framed almost entirely upon the model furnished by the martial code then in force in the Low Countries. This was the most rigid school of military discipline existing in Europe, and so stringent were its demands, that even the Spaniards did not enforce them in their colonies, but permitted the civil government to reign paramount over the martial. We have no reason to believe that this system was regularly adopted by the London Council under the power given them by their charter. It appears to have been sent to Dale upon the sole responsibility of Sir Thomas Smith;^b but before we heap indignant denunciation, either upon these laws or their introducer, we must consider with calmness the existing state of affairs.

All legislators will admit, that human laws must vary according to the character of the subjects of

^a This settlement was on the strip of land long known as Varina Neck. It is in the lower part of the present county of Henrico. See *New Life of Virginea, Force*, i. 13, 14.

^b Compare Stith, 122; Belknap, ii. 103; Bancroft, i. 159.

their government. Mild and humane rules may suffice to direct the industrious and the moderate ; but the vicious and the disorderly will openly despise them. Motives which are all-powerful with one mind, fall impotently upon another. The fear of disgrace, which will act upon a sensitive soul with resistless power, has no restraining force upon a heart callous alike to contempt and to pity. Wise nations have adapted their laws to the state of their people, and have indulged in no visionary hope that man, in his original depravity, can be governed by a system of refined moral suasion. If it be admitted that the Southern States of the American Union have acted wisely in enacting for the slaves, unhappily existing within their borders, laws different from those applied to the whites, then we presume, that none who approve this distinction, can object to the principle upon which the martial law of Sir Thomas Smith was introduced. The inhabitants of Virginia, at this time, were among the most ungovernable of mankind : they had the wildness of savages without their simplicity ; to the hatred of control peculiar to the Indian, they added the pride induced by ignorant civilization. Too indolent to work, yet unwilling to starve ; seditious in temper, and unscrupulous in their measures for obtaining power ; they needed a strong and unshrinking arm to govern them ; a hand which would unsheathe the sword, and, if necessary, strike the offender to the earth. It was at this crisis that the military code was introduced. It was wholly at variance with the English com-

mon law, dispensed with trial by jury, subjected the accused to arbitrary punishment, and denounced instant death against the disobedient. Yet in the mother country, its introduction for her colonial settlements was strongly advised by a noble and liberal mind,^a and when published and carried into effect in Virginia, its happy results were immediately manifest. Sir Thomas Dale used care and discrimination. The worst only were punished, but all were awed; industry revived, tumults ceased, and plenty began again to appear. This code, suited to emergency, was not intended to be permanent. It became gradually unnecessary and obsolete; and when it was afterwards revived by Argal, for purposes of oppression, the complaints of the settlers secured from the Council its final abolishment.^b

Encouraged by hopes of better conduct in the settlers, the London Company sent out a new supply of three hundred men, with many cattle, hogs, and other comfortable munitions. Sir Thomas Gates, with "six tall ships," arrived early in August, and cheered the colonists by his seasonable

^a Sir Francis Bacon. See his Essay on Plantations. "For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial law with some limitation." Works, edit. 1824, ii. 337. But it is not certain that Lord Bacon published this essay before Sir Thomas Smith's martial code was compiled.

See Grahame's judicious note. *Colon. Hist.*, i. 451, 452, note iii.

^b Robertson's *Am.* i. 409; Marshall's *Am. Colon.*, 46; Howe's *Hist. Collec.*, 37. The author of the outline history here found approves of the martial code. Even Stith acknowledges that "these sharp and summary proceedings" at the time were salutary. 123.

aid. He seconded Dale in his efforts for Henrico, and a salutary check to the Indians gave them leisure for their schemes.

When Captain Matthew Somers had arrived in England with the body of his uncle, inflated accounts of the beauty and richness of the Bermuda Islands had been given, and the public mind had been additionally excited by news of an enormous fragment of ambergris, accidentally found by the two men left on the island when Sir George Somers first left it to sail to Virginia.^a The London Company, anxious at once to secure this prize, applied to the King for an extension of their patent; and his majesty granted them a third charter on the 11th March, 1612.^b

After giving, in a most ample manner, all the islands in the Atlantic within three hundred leagues east of Virginia, and thus securing to them the Bermudas, the sovereign proceeds to grant privileges to the company, of the extent of which he does not seem to have been himself fully apprised, and the exercise of which afterwards undoubtedly drew down upon the head of the corporation a deathblow from the royal hand. The council, though elected by and dependent upon the company, yet in the long intervals between the corporate sessions, had possessed great power; but now the king creates a huge democratic assembly for governing the settlement. He gives the company

^a See ante, page 167; Jordan's Hazard's State Papers, i. 72-81, in Narrative, in Smith, ii. 124. Stith. Appen., iii. 23-32, and in

^b This charter is given fully in Hening's Stat. at Large, i. 98-110.

authority to sit once a week, or oftener if they thought proper,^a and appoints four solemn General Courts to be held quarterly during the year, at which all the members might attend, and might debate and decide great questions relative to their officers, their ordinances, and the colony.^b From this time until its dissolution, we note in the debates of the London Company a freedom, a sagacity, and a spirit of inquiry very little acceptable to James. Their quarter courts were attended by masses of members, all eager to claim their privileges, and for a time the English Solomon seems to have held the position appropriate to Satan, who is said to have power to raise a tempest which he is wholly impotent to allay.

The charter further provides for raising money by lotteries, giving the company full power to use this pernicious mode of gaming. This authority they afterwards resorted to, and sufficient folly existed in England to bring twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the corporation from this source alone.^c James long upheld his lottery system, and justly claimed it as the first ever known in England; but when, in 1621, the House of Commons presented it as among the grievances

^a Charter, sec. vii., in Hening, i. 102.

^b Charter, sec. viii., in Hening, i. 103; Bancroft, i. 162.

^c Stith, 191; Belknap, ii. 114. In Smith, ii. 23-25, may be seen a

statement of one of these gaming schemes, which, with its prizes, capitals, welcomes, rewards, and large round numbers, might be used to grace a lottery office of the present day.

of the English people, his timid heart at once gave way, and it was suppressed by proclamation.^a

Early in this year two ships arrived, bringing more men, but a scanty store of food. Argal, who commanded them, determined to supply the defect by a bold stroke of policy, highly congenial to the firmness and the craft of his character. Since the departure of Captain Smith, the Indian maiden Pocahontas had withdrawn from Werowocomoco, and lived concealed among her friends on the Potomac. Argal, having learned this fact from Japazaws, the king of this region, gained him over to his purposes, and sailed up the river in one of his barks. The deed of perfidy was soon complete. A copper kettle, given by Englishmen and received by Indians, was the price paid for the betrayal of one of the noblest of human beings—of her who had offered her own life to save a stranger—who had encountered the anger of her father to shield his enemies, and who had finally fled from his presence to avoid the sight of butchered colonists! By false pretences she was enticed into the gun-room of Argal's ship, and then, immediately weighing anchor, he carried the innocent and helpless girl a prisoner to Jamestown.^b

Powhatan was informed of her capture, and told

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^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 61; Belknap, ii. 114. ried to Jamestown, makes no allusion to it, but strongly intimates

^b Smith, ii. 14; Stith, 128; Burk, i. 169. It is singular that Dr. Robertson, who must have known the treachery by which Pocahontas was carried to Jamestown, makes no allusion to it, but strongly intimates that the conduct of the English towards her was wholly unexceptionable. Amer. i. 410. See Purchas, iv. 1765; Oldmixon, i. 365.

that she should be returned when he restored all his English captives, and all the arms stolen by Indians from the settlement. A struggle now commenced between paternal affection and savage avarice, and the result, for many months, was doubtful.^a But Providence, by a divine alchemy, can transmute even the crimes of men into the sweet joys of social happiness. The Indian maiden was treated by her captors with all the respect and tenderness she deserved. Her gentle nature fully sympathized with the refined emotions of polished life; her confidence was easily won by kindness; and we cannot doubt that she found her present position more congenial to her taste than the rude scenes of an Indian wigwam.

Among the settlers now at Jamestown, was John Rolfe, a young gentleman to whom his contemporaries assign good abilities and a spotless character. Attracted by the beauty of Pocahontas, and by that native dignity which graced this daughter of an Indian monarch, his own affections became deeply enlisted, and by his constant proof of tenderness he gained a heart which the best of men might have prized. He now earnestly desired to be united to her in marriage; and when Sir Thomas Dale communicated this proposal to Powhatan, his majesty gave a gracious answer, and sent his brother Opachiseo, and two of his sons, to attend the nuptial ceremony.

(1613.) Early in April their union was solemnized—the Indian princess became the wife of an English

^a Burk, i. 169; Beverley, 25; Smith, ii. 14; Stith, 128.

gentleman; and we may say with truth that few marriages have ever produced more tranquil happiness in the parties themselves, or more lasting benefit to others connected with them. Powhatan no longer regarded the English as his enemies, but during the rest of his life, himself and his people maintained with them the most amicable relations. And the powerful tribe of Chickahominies, who had always hated and feared his dominion, finding that he would now have time to reduce them to subjection, voluntarily came forward and sought the friendship of the settlers. They concluded with them a treaty of peace, agreeing to take the name of "New Englishmen,"—to aid them in war—never to molest them or their property—to enter none of their towns without notice—to give an annual offering of two bushels of corn for every fighting man, receiving as many hatchets in exchange—and finally, that eight chiefs of this tribe should see that the articles were performed; and that these chieftains should be considered King James's noblemen, and should each receive his picture, a red coat, and a copper chain.^a

Thus the colony was at peace, and Dale had an opportunity of reforming abuses and improving existing customs. A great and most salutary change took place in the mode of holding property. We have seen that, under the original charter of James, all things were to be held,

^a The treaty is detailed in full in Smith, ii. 16, 17; Stith, 130, 131; Keith, 127, 128.

during five years, in common, and all were to be supplied from one common store. Under this unwise system, the most powerful motives to private industry were taken from the colonists. The indolent slept or gamed away their hours, with the comfortable assurance that the magazine would feed them; the enterprising had no stimulant to labour, the fruits of which they were not to enjoy, and, between these conflicting views, the united result was scarcity and starvation. Bees may work diligently for a common stock, (though it has never been shown that each one of these exemplary insects has not her own private cell,) but it is certain that men will never labour with zeal, unless the benefits of their industry are to be reflected directly or indirectly upon themselves.^a The intervention of a common fund did not long survive the apostolic age,^b and has never been successfully revived in subsequent times.

Five years in Virginia had tested this scheme and proved its evils. Sir Thomas Dale determined gradually to change it. He allotted to each man three acres of cleared ground, and required him to labour eleven months for the common store and one month for himself. This was but a slight improvement; but upon his own extensive planta-

^a See remarks of Chancellor Kent, in his commentaries on Am. Law, ii. 255, 256; edit. 1827.

^b "Nam ista communitas ad circumstantiam quæ mox additur restringi debet. * * Ridicula autem

fiut monachorum impudentia qui regulam Apostolicam se tenere professi sunt, quia nihil nominent proprium."—I. Calvini, Comment. In Acta Apostol., cap. ii. 43, 45.

tion on the river, known as the Bermuda Hundred, more favourable terms were granted. Each man laboured one month for the community, and appropriated the remaining eleven to his own purposes. Even these imperfect reforms produced the best results. Industry revived; property accumulated; famine was no longer feared;^a and when, a few years afterwards, all restrictions upon the enjoyment of private property were removed, Virginia assumed every feature of a flourishing colony.

But while the worthy marshal was thus kind to the interests of his own colony, he showed a stern opposition to the just rights of another. As early as 1605, the French had sent settlers to Acadia, and planted a colony at Port Royal, which had now obtained some permanence.^b England and France had long been at peace, and the preamble to James's first patent had expressly excluded from his proposed grant any land then actually possessed by a Christian prince or people.^c But Dale, conceiving this French settlement to be an invasion of the rights of Virginia, because it was between thirty-four and forty-five degrees of latitude, determined to attack it. Argal was an agent well suited

^a Stith, 132; Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 63-65; Bancroft's U. S., i. 161; Robertson's Am., i. 411.

^b See page 77, ante.

^c Preamble in Hening, i. 57, 58; Stith, Appen. i. 1. This clause must have escaped Dr. Belknap's attention, or he surely would not have asserted that Argal's seizure of Port Royal,

and even of the French vessels found at the port, "was agreeable to the powers granted in the charter of 1609," inasmuch as that charter could not be construed to affect unfavourably the rights of foreign nations which had been secured by the first patent.—See Am. Biog., ii. 151, 152.

for his purposes. Bold and unscrupulous, greedy of gain, and little careful as to the means of acquiring it, he regarded a piratical expedition, covered by the forms of law, as falling within his peculiar province. (1614.) Early in the year, he sailed to the north, attacked Port Royal, shot many of the garrison with musketry, killed a gallant Jesuit who resisted him, drove the settlers into the woods, seized upon all the provisions, furniture, and apparel he could find, and turned his bow again to the southward. But, by way of completing the work of reform, he entered the sound at the mouth of the Hudson, and summoned the Dutch settlements on Manhattan Island to surrender, on the absurd pretence that Captain Hudson, who discovered this country in 1609, while lawfully in the service of Holland, was an Englishman, and could not deprive his native land of the benefit of his adventure. Unable to resist, the fort surrendered; but soon afterwards, a reinforcement having arrived, the phlegmatic Dutchmen hoisted their colours and pursued their intended course as though it had not been interrupted.

These exploits of Argal had every distinctive trait of piracy, and we have no reason to believe that they were approved by the English government. James, indeed, in 1621, granted Port Royal to one of his subjects;^a but Nova Scotia was still

^a Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 152; Bancroft date this expedition in see Smith, ii. 18; Stith, 132; Bancroft's *U. S.*, i. 165, 166; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 65; Belknap and Bancroft date this expedition in 1613, but Stith says 1614, and he is a safe guide.

retained by the French, and Manhattan by the Netherlanders.

The natives were now at peace with the colonists, and their friendly relations began to be productive of good to both parties. But Dale feared the consummate art of Powhatan; and, seeing the powerful check upon his hostile views which the presence of Pocahontas among the English secured, he wished to obtain another valued hostage. Ralph Harner was sent to the king, and, after a due exchange of courtesies, he asked that the youngest daughter of Powhatan, a handsome girl, much beloved by her father, might be sent to Jamestown, where a husband, well suited to her taste, would speedily be provided. The old monarch immediately perceived the distrust of the colonists, and, after various excuses, he delivered to Harner a speech, in which the tender feelings of a father's heart are exhibited with touching simplicity. He asked why his brother desired to bereave him of his two children at once. He had already a pledge of his friendship in his oldest daughter; and even though no pledge at all existed, they need fear no injury from him. He had seen enough of blood; his people had been slain; his country had been wasted; and now, in his old age, when he was soon to go to the grave, he desired nothing but "peace and quietness."^a With this answer, the messenger returned to the fort.

^a Smith, ii. 20; Stith, 135; Harner's Narrative, in Smith; Grahame's U. S., 33, 34.

Meanwhile, Pocahontas became daily an object of greater interest to her new friends, and of ever-growing affection in her husband. Her gentle and susceptible mind easily received the impress of that lovely religion, taught in its purity by Christ and his disciples; and she signified her desire to be baptized, in testimony of her Christian faith. This interesting ceremony was performed during the month of June. She received the name of Rebecca; and as she was the first native converted to Christianity, so was she perhaps the most sincere and most exemplary, in all the virtues of her profession.^a It has not been amiss, that American genius has selected the scene of her baptism for adorning the national hall of the country, whose infancy was preserved by her courage, and cherished by her love.

(1615.) From views of domestic pleasure, we turn to the general interests of a colony which may now at last be considered as permanent. Virginia had heretofore had no staple which promised to yield regular returns to her productive industry. Plank was liable to injury, and required much labour. Tar, pitch, and turpentine, pot and pearl ashes, were produced in Europe far cheaper than inexperienced hands in the settlement could make them; vines and silk-worms demanded a dense population and technical skill; gold and silver had at length,

^a Her real name was Matoax, or Matoaka; but the Indians always name they would be enabled to do spoke of her as Pocahontas to the her some injury. Stith, 136; Purchas, iv., 1769.

though most reluctantly, been abandoned as dreams. In this juncture the colonists turned their eyes upon a weed, of which the history deserves an exalted place among the records of human vagaries. Revolting to an unviolated taste, abhorred by the brute creation, fatal even to the insects that men profess most to dislike, this weed has yet gained its way from the pouch of the beggar to the household stores of the monarch upon his throne. It has affected commerce through her every vein, caused disputes between a king and his subjects, and excited royal genius to unwonted literary effort; and, with equal truth may we say, that it has often enveloped the brave in smoke, and stimulated the drooping and the despondent. We need scarcely mention the name of Tobacco. Walter Raleigh first made it fashionable in England, and smoked so vigorously, that his servant, in alarm, poured over his head and face the generous ale intended to aid in its effect.^a Elizabeth paid her favourite a wager, which he fairly won, by weighing the smoke produced from a certain quantity of this weed; and her majesty has been suspected of having regaled her own royal system with a pipe from time to time.^b James hated it with unquenchable fury—drew upon it his pen, and shot forth a “Counterblast against Tobacco,” to convince the world that it was the appropriate luxury of the

^a Oldys' Life of Raleigh, xxxii.;
Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 318; Burk's
Va., i. 61; Stith, 21.

^b Belknap, i. 318; Oldys' Life of
Raleigh, xxxii.; Grahame's Colon.
Hist., i. 26, in note.

Evil One, and that its smoke was as the vapour of the bottomless pit.^a

This plant was known to the Indians throughout almost the whole of the American continent. The French navigator, Cartier, had found it in Canada, in 1535;^b but it then excited in his crews nothing but disgust. Ralph Lane carried it from Carolina to England in 1586; and it soon became a luxury, used by the rich, and coveted by the poor. The Spaniards in the south had long cultivated it, and made it a source of profitable traffic. The Virginians, finding men more willing to pay for the exciting and the agreeable than the useful, now determined to make this weed the staple of their land; and from the year 1615 to the present time, it has been always her product, sometimes her support, often her bane. Her rich soil and warm suns were well adapted to its wants. Instantly all were full of diligence and commotion in raising the new staple;—fields were opened and prepared, trees were felled, and every spot of cleared land was appropriated to the precious weed. Corn, and other grain, were so much neglected, that they were again threatened with scarcity, and driven to endanger their peace with the Indians, by demanding from them supplies. So violent was the tobacco mania, that Dale thought it necessary to restrain it by

^a Stith, 21; Burk's Va., i. 61; Belknap, i. 318; Grahame, i. 66. The reader will find in Hazard's State Papers, i. 49, much abusive language poured out by James against this devoted weed, in a pro-

clamation dated in 1604. See a curious poem against tobacco, written by Rev. Charles I. Adams, and published in Boston, in 1838, p. 9.

^b Belknap's Am. Biog., i. 318.

law; and yet when, two years afterwards, Argal came from England as governor to Virginia, he found the church in decay, and the yard, the market square, the very streets of Jamestown full of the plants of this much-esteemed commodity.^a The people were glowing with the belief that they had discovered a superior mode of drying by suspending it on lines, instead of piling it in heaps; and it is related that by large importations for this purpose, the demand for small cord became great in the mother country.^b

(1616.) Sir Thomas Dale prepared to return to England. The colony owed much to this gentleman; and notwithstanding his use of the martial law suggested by Smith, he was respected and beloved by worthy settlers. He had introduced several salutary changes, and among the rest one regulating the tenure of land. Originally, any man adventuring his person in the colony was entitled to one hundred acres of ground to his sole and separate use; but as the settlement increased, this quantity was found too great, and was reduced to fifty acres. To encourage industry, it was provided, that when the first plot granted should be well cleared and occupied, the owner should have a right to as much more, to be selected at his pleasure. For extraordinary merit, the Company would sometimes give land to a particular person; but by the King's patent, they were forbidden in

^a Grahame's Col. Hist., i. 67; Belknap, ii. 154; Robertson's Am., i. 411, 412; Holmes's Annals, i. 153.

^b Stith, 147; Belknap, ii. 155.

these grants to bestow in all more than two thousand acres. Any one paying into the treasury the sum of twelve pounds, ten shillings, acquired a right to one hundred acres, to be located where he pleased. Under these regulations, the tenure of lands became gradually fixed and secure.^a

Leaving the government to Sir George Yeardley, Dale embarked for England, and arrived safely at Plymouth on the 12th of June. He carried with him John Rolfe and his young wife Pocahontas, who was now to appear amid the scenes of European refinement, to which her beauty, her intelligence, and her artless manners were to impart additional grace. Captain John Smith was, at this time, about to commence a voyage to New England; but on learning of the arrival of the generous woman who had jeopardized her life to save his own, his noble nature prompted him to serve her by all means in his power. He wrote a letter to the Queen, and used all his influence with Prince Charles to obtain for it a favourable reception. Did nothing remain to us of his writings except this letter, it would yet suffice to give us an insight into his character. Frank, modest, and manly, he speaks to her majesty in the true spirit of an English gentleman. He introduces to her the amiable Pocahontas; tells of his own danger, of her heroism in rescuing him, of her love to the colonists, her self-denial for their welfare, her mar-

^a Stith, 139, 140; Bancroft's U. S., i. 166, 167; Holmes's Annals, i. 149. The allotment of land is here dated in 1615.

riage and conversion, and of the birth of her son. Then appealing to the best impulses of the human heart, he invokes the Queen's tenderness and protection for this gentle being, thus separated from her friends, her home, her native ties, and coming unknown and almost friendless to a land where all, to her, were strangers.^a We have reason to believe, that this letter produced a happy effect upon the Queen, and excited her sympathies in behalf of her interesting visiter.

But the learned idiot, who then wore the English crown, did not look upon this matter with perfect complacency. The very name of a king had a magic sound in his ears, and whether the sovereign were king of Great Britain, Ireland, and France, or king of the Ashantees in Africa, he alike regarded him as the anointed of heaven. Under this view, Pocahontas was a princess, and Rolfe had married one of the blood royal. Peradventure he had thus acquired some claim to sovereignty in Virginia, either for himself or his offspring, and James was chafed by absurd fears, based on his own more absurd theory of government.^b

Captain Smith had not left London when Pocahontas arrived. The smoke and noise of the city were so offensive to her, that she immediately retired to the pleasant village of Brentford, and here

^a This letter is given in full in ii. 372, 373. See Holmes's Annals, Smith's Hist. Va., ii. 29-31. It is i. 151.

alluded to by Stith, 142, 143, and ^b Stith, 142; Burk, i. 184, in note; Burk, i. 180, and given by Hillard, Oldmixon's Brit. Empire, i. 367.

her distinguished friend enjoyed an interview with her. She had been told that he was dead, and when he now presented himself, a crowd of conflicting emotions so affected her that she turned from him and covered her face with her hands. But after a season she resumed her composure, addressed him in the simple language of a heart unschooled in artifice, reminded him of their former friendship, and claimed its continuance. She asked the privilege of calling him her father ; and nothing but a knowledge of the jealousy of the court could have induced Smith to reject the touching petition. It would be difficult to imagine a scene more interesting than this interview between the brave soldier of England and the heroine of the American wilderness.^a

Lady Delaware undertook the pleasing office of presenting the princess at court ; and the genuine modesty, the good sense, the dignity of manner, and personal grace, which Pocahontas possessed in a remarkable degree, soon rendered her a favourite, and caused her society to be sought by courtiers and nobles, who vied with each other in paying her attention. Masks, balls, and theatrical exhibitions were daily presented for her amusement ; and her susceptible mind seems to have derived intense pleasure from these evidences of European refinement.^b But she willingly prepared to return to Virginia with her husband. Early in 1617, they

^a Smith's own account may be seen, ii. 32, 33 ; Stith, 143 ; Burk, i. 183, 184 ; Hillard's Smith, ii. 376.

^b Stith, 145 ; Hillard's Smith, ii.

378.

arrived at Gravesend, intending soon to embark, when Pocahontas was attacked by a dangerous malady, and in a few days resigned her gentle spirit to Him who gave it. She had not yet reached her twenty-third year. In the very morning of life, and when the hearts of all around her were most tenderly linked to her fate, she was taken away. Yet, saddening as was the event, we cannot regret it. We can even see in it evidences of Divine foresight and mercy. She died with perfect composure, relying with simple faith upon promises from lips which have never deceived, and upon the support of an arm which has never grown feeble.^a Had she lived even a few years longer, it might have been to have her heart tortured by the sight of murdered colonists and of Indians exterminated, in a war which all her powers of conciliation would not have averted.

She left a son, Thomas Rolfe, who, after spending his childhood and youth in England, came to Virginia, and by his fortune and his talents exercised a happy influence upon her destinies. He died, leaving an only daughter, who intermarried with Colonel Robert Bolling, and became the mother of a son, John Bolling, who was her only child. He was the father of Colonel John Bolling, and of five daughters, who were severally married to

^a Stith, 146; Hillard's Smith, ii. 379. Mr. Burk's enthusiasm in behalf of Pocahontas entitles him to our respect; but in speaking of her life and her death, he perpetrates even more than usual of the false heroic of composition. The English reader who desires to see a specimen of his language, in a state of hopeless mania, may look at vol. i. 188.

Richard Randolph, John Flemming, Doctor William Gay, Thomas Eldridge, and James Murray.^a By these channels the blood of the Indian princess has been transmitted to numerous descendants, who have inhabited the soil once possessed by her imperial father. A historian, not unknown to fame, has asserted that these children of a noble parentage, have been distinguished rather for virtue and wealth, than for the more imposing gifts of talent and renown. "None of them has been conspicuous in arts or arms: no great statesman or consummate general has issued from the loins of Powhatan."^b But these statements must be received with caution. Were John Randolph, of Roanoke, the only name to which we could point in this family,^c he would be sufficient to shed upon it the light of a genius too rare to be neglected, too glowing to be concealed, yet too peculiar to be imitated; and in the present age, it would be easy, among the descendants of Pocahontas, to find, in man, those gifts of nature which cause the few to govern the many, and in woman the most brilliant personal beauty, united with the highest of mental endowments.

Among the attendants of Pocahontas, to the court of James, was an intelligent Indian, bearing the euphonious name of Uttamatomakkin, sent by King Powhatan to ascertain the resources of England, and particularly the number of her population.

^a Stith, 146; Burk, i. 190; Hillard's Smith, ii. 384.

^c See Hillard's Smith, in Sparks's Am. Biog. ii. 384.

^b Burk's History of Va., i. 190.

He bravely began his census by notching a long stick for each person that he met, but soon gave way in despair, and on returning told his monarch to number the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand on the sea-shore, if he desired to know the number of this great people.^a This acute savage formed but a low opinion of the English sovereign, and in sadness complained to Captain Smith, that though Powhatan had given to his white visiter a dog as a present, James had given nothing to *him*, and certainly he was better than a dog! Perchance the native critic was well fitted to pronounce an impartial opinion upon the author of the Basilicon Doron.

Meanwhile George Yeardley held the reins of government in Virginia. He was mild and amiable in character, but feeble in administration, and it was thought the colony yet needed a stronger arm for its control. Already in the counsels of the London Company, we mark, with pain, the influence of a *court* faction, who sympathized with the King in his hatred of democracy, and opposed by their intrigues the efforts of the friends of freedom. Lord Rich and Sir Thomas Smith united their efforts to obtain the appointment of deputy governor for Captain Samuel Argal, and they unhappily succeeded. Early in this year the new governor came over, and immediately opened his administration by acts of tyranny, and threats of its increase. (May.) The martial law of Smith

^a Stith, 144; Smith, ii. 33; Grimshaw's U. S., 33; Parley's Europe.

had been gradually relaxed, until it became almost lifeless, but Argal breathed into its frame his own relentless spirit, and it sprang up in pristine vigour. In the middle of a year of drought and of storm, attended by a fall of hailstones nine inches in circumference,^a the provincial monarch thundered forth his decrees. He bound the private commerce of the colony in chains; forbidding goods to be sold for more or less than twenty-five per cent. advance, or tobacco for more or less than three shillings per pound, on penalty of three years *slavery* to the offender. He forbade all private traffic with the Indians, and denounced death against any who should teach them the use of fire-arms. No man was permitted to hunt deer or hogs without his excellency's fiat; and a year of slavery was the punishment for him who should use fire-arms at all, except in necessary self-defence, until more ammunition should arrive. No person was to go on board the ships at Jamestown, nor were the crews to come on shore, or talk with the inhabitants, without the governor's license. Any person neglecting to go to church Sundays and holidays, was to "lye neck and heels that night,"^b and be a slave for a week; for the second offence, he was to be enslaved a month, and for the third, for a year and a day!^c From this last clause we infer that

^a Stith, 147; Smith, ii. 34.

^b The words in Stith, 148; Hawks's Ecclesiast. Hist. Va., 32.

^c These decrees will furnish some

idea of the rigour of the martial code, when in full force. See Stith, 147, 148; Burk, i. 194, 195; Belknap, ii. 155; Marshall's Am. Colon. 53.

the alternative of the church or the stocks was not uncommon, and that some preferred the latter.

(1618.) While the colonists were groaning under this reign of terror, Lord Delaware was preparing to resume in person his duties as governor. The company sent him forth with a large ship and two hundred settlers. Storms soon assailed him; adverse winds delayed his progress; foul weather and exhaustion produced disease; and many died on the passage. His lordship was still in delicate health; and, unable to bear up under the pressure now affecting him, he rapidly declined, and died at sea, when his ship had reached a point probably not far from the mouth of the bay now bearing his name.^a We cannot contemplate the death of this excellent nobleman without sorrow and sympathy. Virginia should cherish his memory with warm affection, for he devoted his best days to her service, and may truly be said to have fallen a martyr to his zeal for her welfare.

In the same year in which Delaware died, it is remarkable that two other persons descended to the grave, whose names will always be connected with the most interesting passages of American history. Walter Raleigh at last fell a sacrifice to the envy of inferiors, the cruel policy of James, and the hatred of the Spanish court, all united for his destruction. And the great emperor Powhatan,

^a Stith, 148; Burk, i. 198; Keith, *Hants*, June 7, 1618.—Collins's 131; Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 115. *Peerage*, cited in Hubbard's note to *One* authority states, that Delaware Belknap, ii. 116. died "near his seat at Whewell,

after a life of martial activity, was permitted to die in peace. He had keenly felt the death of his daughter, and, from the time it was announced to him, seems to have lost all interest in public affairs. He died full of years, and, we may add, laden with the honours which should gather around the memory of one who acted well in the sphere to which his Creator has assigned him. Acute in mind, inventive in counsel, prompt in execution, bold in danger, he ever retained his dignity and his command amid surrounding numbers; and had not English skill overpowered his native ingenuity, his dominion would never have been lessened. His powers were far more exalted than those of the civilized monarch, who proposed to hold him in vassalage; and had British soil given him birth, and hereditary right raised him to the throne of England, his name would not be found among those of her kings who are remembered only to be despised and ridiculed.^a

After the death of Lord Delaware, Argal continued his course of arbitrary government, without scruple or hindrance. His rapacity was insatiate, and not content with plundering the public store, by every artifice that his knavery could suggest, he attacked the private property of the deceased earl himself, and Lady Delaware has left on record many complaints of her losses by this fearless peculator.^b The unhappy colonists were now fet-

^a See Mr. Burk's sketch of Powhatan, i. 199-202: though somewhat florid, it has more of truth and elegance than this writer generally exhibits. See also Belknap, ii. 160.

^b Stith, 149-151; Belknap, ii. 156, 157.

tered and lying helpless at his feet; for if they acted or even spake against his oppression, martial law was forthwith called down upon their heads.

An individual example will illustrate. Argal had taken under his special care Lord Delaware's estate, and converted its profits to his own use. Edward Brewster, who had long been one of its lawful overseers, remonstrated against this, and sharply threatened one of the creatures of the governor, who was fulfilling his master's unrighteous purposes. This man complained to Argal, who instantly determined to visit upon the intrepid Brewster all the terrors of the martial code.

He was arrested and tried under a provision denouncing death against any man who should "contemptuously resist or disobey his commander, or do any act or speak any words which might tend to breed disorder or mutiny;"^a and, after a brief examination, he was found guilty and condemned to die. Yet so revolting was the whole proceeding to the Council, that they threw off their accustomed apathy, and implored mercy for the condemned at the hands of the governor.^b Argal had at first determined that Brewster should die; but after much entreaty, he consented to pardon him, on condition that he should leave the colony never to return, and that neither in England nor elsewhere should he ever utter any disrespectful words concerning his persecutor. Conduct so refined in violence and oppression could not long be concealed. Brewster appealed to the company in

^a Stith, 152.

^b Stith, 153; Burk, i. 196.

London, who reversed his sentence, and prepared to call the inflated governor to account.^a

Even Sir Thomas Smith could no longer countenance his kinsman. In union with Sir Lionel Cranfield and Alderman Johnson, (two members of the court party,) he wrote to Argal a letter, in which he charged him, in most cutting terms, with his manifold crimes and misdemeanors. He accuses him of rapacity, peculation, embezzlement, in every shape and form, and threatens him with speedy punishment. This letter, and one from the Company to Lord Delaware, had been written before the death of that nobleman; and they both fell into the hands of Argal, who took measures for defence, or, if necessary, for securing, by flight, the fruits of his dishonesty. (1619.) When the Company appointed Sir George Yeardley to supersede him, the Earl of Warwick, formerly Lord Rich, who was bound to the governor by ties of similarity in character and partnership in profit, despatched a small vessel to Virginia, which arrived in time to carry off Argal and his ill-gotten treasures before the advent of his successor.^b (April.) Thus he

^a Stith, 153; Burk, i. 197; Marshall's *Am. Colon.*, 53; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 68; Marshall refers to Robertson as authority on this subject, but the Doctor is silent concerning it. The final proceeding in Brewster's case was in 1620.—Stith, 181, 182.

^b Belknap, ii. 158; Stith, 154–157. Beverley, who is much infected with the love of royalty, says nothing of Argal's rapine—makes

him a hero, to whom the colony owes all of its prosperity at the time,—and, most stupidly, sends him upon an expedition against the French of Acadia, in 1618. Keith, who is equally prejudiced and superficial, follows him closely. Neither of these writers can be depended on, unless confirmed by other authority. See Stith, 154; Beverley, 32–36; Keith, 131–135.

escaped punishment, and enjoyed for a season the gains of iniquity.

The arrival of Sir George Yeardley, as Governor of Virginia, in the spring of 1619, may be hailed as the opening of a more brilliant era in her annals than any that had gone before. Much obloquy has been heaped upon the London Company, by those who have marked its faults without regarding its virtues; but the true lover of freedom will not forget that to this body America is indebted for the first of those free constitutions which have so long been the boast of her highly favoured soil. We have already spoken of the spirit which appeared and gained strength in the open debates of this large body. Men began to find that they could think for themselves, and that they were not absolutely dependent for wisdom upon a crowned head. A small number did indeed steadily adhere to the interest and policy of the king; but an overwhelming majority spake, debated, determined, and acted with all the resolution that intelligent freedom could inspire. Unable to make this influence fully felt in England, where popular indignation had not yet ripened into resistance by arms to the king's prerogative, they determined to give to Virginia a constitution embodying their views of the rights of man. Accordingly, Sir George Yeardley was despatched with plenary powers, and brought with him to the settlement several charters, by one of which he was authorized to call together the "First General Assembly" that ever sat upon the soil of

the new world.^a Little did James and his obsequious servants imagine that he had imparted being to a parent who was now to give birth to a child destined by his own innate vigour to shake the dominion of Britain to its centre, and finally to change the aspect of the most powerful nations of earth!

Among the manuscript records of the London Company, which have fortunately been preserved,^b we do not find the charter authorizing the creation of the first representative body in Virginia; but we may presume that it did not differ materially from the constitution afterwards fully established under Sir Francis Wyatt, to which we shall soon have occa-

^a Stith, 160; Burk, i. 202, 203; Robertson's Amer., i. 412; Marshall's Am. Colon., i. 54; Belknap, ii. 163, 164; Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 69; Bancroft's U.S., i. 170, 171. Beverley, with his wonted ignorance, says the first Assembly met in May, 1620; and Keith, as usual, follows him. Beverley, 35; Keith, 134. Here Oldmixon agrees with them, i. 369—an erring trio!

^b The records of the Company, from 28th April, 1619, to 7th June, 1624, were copied before it was dissolved. In 1667, these valuable manuscripts were purchased of the executors of the Earl of Southampton, by Col. Byrd, of Virginia. They were diligently used by Stith, in compiling his history, and were afterwards in the possession of Mr. Burk. Hubbard, note to Belknap, ii. 192, says they were carried back to Eng-

land by the late John Randolph; but this must be an error. They are now in the custody of Conway Robinson, Esq., who has had many passages from them carefully copied, and has submitted them for a special purpose to the inspection of Gustavus A. Myers, Esq. To the kindness of the last-named gentleman I am indebted for a view of these manuscripts. They contain much matter wholly uninteresting to the general reader, but they throw the clearest light upon the history of the Company almost to the moment of its dissolution. Mr. Burk sometimes speaks of other MSS. consulted by him for the childhood of Virginia, but what they were I do not know. See i. 275; Belknap, ii. 191, 192; Bancroft, i. 203; Hening's Stat., i. 76, in note.

sion to refer. It is certain that about the close of the month of June, the first Assembly met at Jamestown. The division of counties was yet unknown : but each borough or township sent a representative, and from this the legislators acquired the name of "Burgesses," which they long retained. The representatives sat and voted in the same room with the council, and the governor retained a negative upon all laws or other action. Not one of the acts of this Assembly has been preserved ; but we have reason to believe they legislated with wisdom, and that their conduct was approved by the Company in England.^a

Such was the origin of true liberty in America. We find in this constitution much that is obscure, and of that which is well ascertained we note much that might be amended ; but we see in it the germ of a representative body, taken from, elected by, sympathizing with, the people, ready to watch over their interests and protect their rights, and yet sufficiently removed from them to be beyond the immediate influence of their prejudices and passions. This is as nearly as man may, with safety, approach to entire self-government.

Besides the important change just alluded to, this year was fruitful in events deeply affecting the welfare of the colony. Sir Thomas Smith was not popular as treasurer. He was too much inclined to the king's faction, and his increasing years made him willing to retire from public life. (April 28.) He was succeeded by Sir Edwin

^a Stith, 160 ; Beverley, 35 ; Grahame, i. 69 ; Gordon's Amer., i. 47.

Sandys, a gentleman of liberal views, of warm heart, and of steady devotion to the rights of the Company and of the settlers. Under his care, several salutary measures were adopted, and a vigorous spirit pervaded the affairs of the colony. Nearly one thousand reputable settlers were sent from the mother country to occupy the soil and increase the strength of her dependency. But in recording this great increase, the historian is compelled, with indignation, to narrate a most shameful exercise of regal tyranny. King James expressly commanded the Company to transport to Virginia one hundred convicts, guilty of every species of felony, or else adjudged too dissolute to remain upon the soil of Britain. Entreaties, remonstrances, appeals, were tried in vain. At a heavy expense these miscreants were transported to the colony, to add strength to indolence and energy to vice. The judicious Stith may well denounce, in unsparing terms, this conduct, which "hath laid one of the finest countries in British America under the unjust scandal of being a mere hell upon earth."^a These people and their descendants gradually improved in morals; but Virginia has deeply felt the wound which their very presence inflicted on her.^b

^a Stith, 167, 168; Belknap's Am. Biog., ii. 167, 168; Campbell's Va., 54; Gordon's Am., i. 47.

^b Is it not surprising, that Marshall should approve this measure, and assert that the policy which dictated it was no less wise than hu-

mane? Am. Colon., i. 56. His reasoning is weak, unless a Virginian can commend a course which would render his own state a Botany Bay, in order to relieve Britain from her corrupt population.

A great mortality prevailed this season among the settlers, and three hundred were swept away within the year.^a They were, probably, those who had not yet passed the ordeal of the climate, and the rank vegetation of the summer and autumn exercised the most fatal of influences. But if death was thus busy, abundance seemed to pour in upon the survivors. An enormous yield of corn and wheat was gathered, and it is even related that two harvests were obtained the same year. The wheat first sown was shaken by the wind, and the grains which fell produced the second crop. This seems hardly credible; but the profusion in this year is proved by the highest authority.^b

Sir Edwin Sandys looked with great favour upon the attempt already made to found a college in the colony, and exerted himself to raise money for its support. It was seated at Henrico, was under good directors, and was intended not only for the education of white children, but also for training Indian boys to Christian lives and civilized learning. Many benevolent persons, of both sexes, in the mother country, contributed to its aid, and it promised much, when its proceedings were interrupted by a disaster soon to be mentioned.^c

And now began the first dispute between England and her dependency; caused, beyond doubt, by a spirit of unrighteous demand in the mother,

^a Stith, 161.

162; but he does not seem to believe it.

^b Stith refers to a letter from Virginia to the London Company, in which this marvel is mentioned,

^c Stith, 162, 171, 172; John Rolfe's Nar., in Smith, ii. 40.

and of resistance to oppression in the child. King James, by the charter of 1609, had expressly exempted the colonists from all customs for twenty-one years, upon their products imported into England, except five per cent. on imports, according to the long-established custom of merchants.^a But this astute pedant, notwithstanding his hatred to tobacco, hated it not with a hatred equal to his love for money, and determined to draw from this diabolical commodity a revenue wherewith to appease his starving coffers. For this purpose a plan was adopted, as ingenious as it was fraudulent. Spanish tobacco, being of fine quality, generally sold for about eighteen shillings per pound, while that from Virginia never brought more than five, and generally sold for three or four shillings per pound. Notwithstanding this disparity, his majesty's custom-house officers exacted an average duty of six pence per pound on all tobacco imported, thus favouring Spain and oppressing Virginia. For it will be perceived, that this duty would be not quite three per cent. on the Spanish product, and from ten to sixteen per cent. on that of the colony. In addition to this, Mr. Jacob, the farmer of the tobacco impost, deliberately annexed six pence per pound to this already heavy tax, thus imposing the enormous duty of twenty per cent. upon the staple of Virginia even when it brought its highest price.^b

^a Charter, sec. xix., in Hening, i. 94.

^b Stith, 168-170; Burk, i. 297; Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 72. This

Such oppression could not be endured ; the Company appealed to the courts of law, relying upon the strength of their charter ; but as might have been foretold, they met with meagre justice and much loss. The conflict thus commenced, continued, with little intermission, during several years. The King granted monopolies for the sale of tobacco, limited the quantity to be imported, appointed commissioners for inspecting or “garbling,” and confiscating all that they might see fit to declare to be of “base quality ;” exacted heavy duties, and yet, when the Company, wearied by his systematic oppression, ceased to import the weed into Britain, and sent it to the inviting ports of Holland, his majesty flew into a royal rage, and forbade them to send their own products to any other country, unless they were first landed in England. The Company appealed to the House of Commons, and supported their right to ship their staple directly to Holland, by referring to their charters, which in no sense restricted this well-known privilege of English subjects. The controversy was waged with skill and violence on both sides, until finally, in 1622, a compromise was effected. The articles agreed upon provided, that the Virginia and Somers’ Island Companies should have the sole right to import tobacco into the British realm ; that no person should be permitted to plant this article on the soil of Great

was, indeed, an enormous duty at the time ; but it is insignificant when compared with the customs on tobacco imported into England in modern times.

Britain during the continuance of this agreement; that besides the regular duties of sixpence a pound on roll, and fourpence on leaf, the Company should pay to his majesty a full third part of all the tobacco imported; but they were not obliged to import a greater quantity than they thought proper; that the Company should import from forty to sixty thousand pounds of Spanish tobacco in each of the first two ensuing years; and that the contract should commence at Michaelmas, 1622, and continue for seven years.^a

Thus did James drive the Spaniards from his market, and grant to the English colonists a complete monopoly for the sale of their staple. It is singular that he should have done this, while his love of popery was still strong, and while he was indulging in ardent hopes of soon effecting a marriage between his son Charles and the infanta of Spain;^b but it is still more singular, that the Company should have supposed they would derive pecuniary benefit from this change. Few articles can bear a tax amounting to more than one-third their value; and nothing but the insatiate longing for a stimulant once indulged, could have attracted an ounce of this weed to England after the granting of the monopoly. But men have ever preferred their vices or their vagaries to their own substantial welfare. During the years in which

^a Stith, 170, 201, 202, 247, 249; the amount of duty exacted by the Burk, i. 207, 253, 255; Grahame's king; he states it at ninepence per Colon. Hist., i. 72, 73. Mr. Gra- pound.

hame, I think, has greatly mistaken ^b Hume's England, iv. 291-295.

this dispute was in progress, we find in the pages of Stith, little but the word "tobacco," repeated in every possible combination, until we are almost led to imagine that the odour of the weed clings permanently to the words of the reverend historian. We shall again encounter it as we pass through the story of Virginia's fortunes.

(1620.) An incident now presents itself, upon which none who have proper feelings, can look without melancholy interest, and which few Englishmen or Americans can regard without deep humiliation. It is not a purpose here entertained to enter upon a history of slavery; to go back to the time when man first bought and sold his fellow-creatures, or when, under the Divine constitution, it first became lawful for one mortal to control another as his property. Whatever may be the ravings of fanaticism on this subject, it is certain that the father of the faithful, the chosen servant of the Almighty, owned and governed slaves in a mode as absolute as any that had ever prevailed in the Southern States of the American Union.^a It is also certain, that the inspired Apostle of Christ, who enjoyed more abundant revelations than any other writer of the New Testament, has laid down laws to govern the relation of master and slave; thus proving it to be lawful.^b For neither has the

^a Genesis, xii. 5, with Matthew iv. 1; and the whole Epistle to Philemon. The word "*δουλος*" is constantly used in Greek writers for a slave,

^b 1 Corin. vii. 22, 23, xii. 13; Galat. iii. 28; Eph. vi. 5, 8, 9; Coloss. iii. 22, in the fullest sense of the word. I need not say how broad was its meaning

Deity, nor have righteous men, at any time given laws to regulate an unlawful relation, as that of adulterer and adulteress, receiver and thief. But upon a subject which has excited, and is still producing so profound emotion in the world, we will not enter the arena of debate. Inexorable necessity alone^a could induce the people of Virginia to continue an institution which, however lawful, is not desirable; which has been entailed upon them by British ancestors; which they have perseveringly struggled to mitigate; and from which they hope finally to see their land wholly delivered. It is rather the duty of the historian to trace evils to their sources, and, without fear or malice, to attach censure to those who have rendered themselves ingloriously immortal, by giving birth to ills which are destined to curse the world when their bodies have, during ages, slumbered in the dust.

England has always held slaves under her control: villeins in the feudal ages—kidnapped Africans under Elizabeth—negroes in her American islands—white children in the mines and factories upon her own soil—conquered Hindoos in her vast East Indian domain. Nevertheless, it is true that the bondman who now touches her soil becomes free, and may have a writ of “habeas corpus” to secure his liberty! So skilful is she in retaining

during the existence of the Roman empire, when Paul wrote his epistles. Read Dr. Spring's remarks, in his admirable work on the “Obligations of the World to the Bible,” pp. 226–239.

^a See Tucker's Commentaries, vol. i., book i. 74, 75. See also Jefferson's Notes, 93, and 170, 171.

the substance without the form, in giving to her poets and orators a phantom upon which to waste their eloquence, while she relaxes not her grasp upon the enslaved spirit thus disembodied! Sir John Hawkins was the first Englishman of note, who openly engaged in the slave trade. In 1562, he visited Africa, enticed the unsuspecting negroes aboard his ship, attacked and captured a large number of a hostile tribe, promised them all much comfort under the pleasant skies of Hispaniola, sold them to the Spaniards upon that island, and returned to England "with a rich freight of pearls, sugar, and ginger," to excite his countrymen to emulation, and to allay the qualms of the Queen's conscience by displays of wealth, and promises of great moderation in his future kidnappings.^a Thus, while the Pope of Rome was steadily hurling anathemas at this inhuman traffic,^b a Protestant princess received it under her especial care and countenance.

But though England sanctioned the slave trade, sold her own people into servitude, after the unhappy rebellion of Monmouth, in the reign of James II.,^c and afterwards contributed heavily to

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 16, 17. Grahame is good authority on such a point. Bancroft's U. S., i. 186; Keith's Va., 31; Dr. Spring's Obligations of the World to the Bible, 241.

^b Bancroft's U. S., i. 185. The letter of Pope Alexander III., cited by Mr. Bancroft, has the following

passage: "*Cum autem omnes liberos natura creassêt, nullus conditione naturæ fuit subditus servituti.*"—This letter was written "in the very darkness of the middle ages."

^c Hallam's Const. Hist., iii. 93, in note, London edit., 1832; Bancroft's U. S., i. 189.

swell the number of Africans on the soil of America, yet she did not originally introduce them. James I. was content to prepare the minds of the colonists for enslaving their innocent fellow-beings, by sending guilty wretches from Britain to servitude in the settlement.^a In August, 1620, a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the James, landed twenty negroes from the African coast,^b and soon obtained a sale for them from the planters, who were willing at any expense, either of money or of feeling, to secure suitable labourers for their lucrative staple. We will not further dwell upon this circumstance, or upon its results. The number was small, but the practice was commenced; the virus was introduced into the blood of the patient, and centuries perchance will yet elapse ere she will recover from its influences.

From a cargo of unhappy negroes, torn from their native land to be reduced to bondage on a distant soil, we pass immediately to an importation far more useful, more agreeable, more interesting in all its aspects. The colonists had hitherto wanted permanency of view. Many of them came to Virginia with the mere hope of amassing wealth, and then with a fixed design to return to the comforts of their native land. They regarded the colony as a commercial speculation, rather than

^a Mr. Grahame has a sensible paragraph on this point, which would be entirely just did he attach the blame exclusively to the King, instead of laying it upon the colonists, i. 70, 71.

^b Smith, ii. 39, "A dutch man of warre, that sold us twenty *negars*;" Beverley, 35; Stith, 182; Grahame, i. 71; Burk, i. 211; Marshall, 56; Bancroft, i. 189; Belknap, ii. 109; Gordon, i. 48; Oldmixon, i. 369.

as the foetus of a great and prosperous people. But gradually this unsettled feeling had diminished; men began to regard the beautiful country around them with affection, and to look upon it with all those tender thoughts which gather around the spot we call our home. To encourage this sentiment, the Company adopted a plan as novel as it was judicious. The presence of woman has always been necessary, to cause the wandering desires of man to centre upon a particular spot. The Deity judged not unwisely when he brought our mother to Adam, who was already surrounded by the charms of Eden; for without her, the garden would not long have retained his restless spirit.

Hitherto, matrimonial connexions in the colony had not been numerous. Many families, it is true, had come undivided, but a large number of men were still single, and composed a class most capable of affecting the settlement either for good or for evil. To provide these with companions, the managers in England made proper proposals, and immediately ninety young females declared that they were ready to devote themselves to so praiseworthy an object.^a They were shipped to the colony, and, as the adventurers had made a considerable outlay in preparing them for the voyage, on arrival, they were offered for sale—the price demanded being one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco.^b This, at three shillings per pound,

^a Furchas's *Pilgrims*, iv. 1783; ^b Stith, 197; Burk, i. 206–221; Belknap, ii. 166; Grahame's *Colon*. Grahame, i. 72; Bancroft, i. 173. Hist., i. 72.

would be a sum equal to about eighty dollars, but if proper allowance be made for the greater value of money at that time than at the present, each of these damsels was to be sold for nearly one hundred and fifty dollars. Immediately on arriving, these gentle ladies were placed before the young colonists. Offers were rapid. They sold in a brief space of time, and were duly united in holy wedlock to their respective purchasers. Family ties were formed; mutual content prevailed; life began to grow brighter; cares lost their depressing power. Certainly we may suppose, that women who had not been deterred by any silly fastidiousness from seeking advantageous matches by such means, would not afterwards torment their husbands by the caprices and follies to which their sex is said to be liable; and the young planters had every guarantee for finding in their wives the respect and obedience, alike required by laws human and divine.

This encouraging prospect induced the Company to prepare for another shipment. They designed to send one hundred, but their funds were only sufficient for sixty, and, accordingly, that number speedily arrived at Jamestown. We are told by good authority, that they were young, handsome, and chaste.^a We may not presume that the daughters of noblemen, or even of the

^a Stith, 197; Burk, i. 221. See a curious letter accompanying a shipment of ladies from London, and dated August 21, 1621. This letter is preserved by Hubbard, in his notes to Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, ii. 166; but I am not perfectly satisfied as to its authenticity.

higher gentry of England, embarked on this truly *philanthropic* excursion; but we have the best reason to believe, that they were girls of respectable parentage, of more than common personal beauty, and of undoubted virtue.^a Great care was taken to permit none to go out whose morals were not pure; and, in proof of the strictness observed on this point, we find, at a later period, an order of Council, regularly made, to send back to England two women, whose chastity had been successfully assailed, and who had become pregnant during the passage.^b They were instantly discarded, as unworthy to propagate a race who have always been proverbial for honour in man, and for purity in woman.

The importation of this year sold as rapidly as the first. The price rose to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco; and as we do not hear of any very heavy bidding for particular maidens, while others were neglected, or only taken if accompanied by a premium, we infer that a remarkable equality prevailed in the attractions of these damsels, and that this had been a point judiciously managed by the consignors. The Company proved its wisdom by annexing strong inducements to wedlock; declaring that they would deal with, ship to, and in all things favour married men, rather than those who, after a certain age, remained single.^c

Under these happy auspices we note a percep-

^a See remarks of Stith, on p. 197; 36; note to Grahame's Colon. Hist., Robertson's Am., i. 412. i. 72.

^b This was in 1632. See Burk, ii. ^c Stith, 197, 198.

tible improvement in the affairs of the colony; industry revived, men became attached to their homes and settled in their views, the servitude of apprenticeship was relaxed, and all things wore a cheering aspect, until the terrible disaster which it will soon be our duty to record.

Sir George Yeardley was a man of mild and sensitive spirit, and so deeply was he wounded by the ungenerous attacks constantly made upon him by the court party in the Company, with Warwick and Argal at its head, that his health began to decline. He fell into painful languor of body,^a from which he seems not to have recovered. Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed to succeed him, and early in August set out for the colony. He brought with him a written constitution for the settlers, and full instructions for his own guidance and control. The constitution was but intended to confirm the privileges granted under Sir George Yeardley, but it will ever remain among our records as a monument of the noble and expanded spirit pervading the counsels of the London Company.^b

After erecting two councils—one to consist of the governor and his advisers, known as the Council of State, and the other to consist of the first body, together with two burgesses from each town, hundred, or plantation, to be freely elected by the people, and called together by the governor, once a year, and not oftener unless for special reason,—

^a Stith, 193.

Hazard's Sta. Pap. i. 131-133; Hen.

^b This charter may be read in ing's Stat. at Large, i. 110, 113. It full in Stith, Appen., iv. 32-34; is dated July 24, 1621.

the charter provides that this last-mentioned body, forming one "General Assembly," shall have power to make laws, subject, however, to an absolute negative in the governor, and subject also to the approval of the Company at some one of their quarterly courts. But, with admirable equity, it was farther declared, that no action of the Company should be binding on the colonists unless duly ratified by the General Assembly.^a Imperfect as was this constitution, it should afford unmixed delight, when we remember whence it came, and under the reign of what sovereign it was granted.

The instructions accompanying the governor, with much that is good, embrace some things savouring of the errors of the age.^b The Church of England is commended to his fatherly care—drunkenness is denounced—fine clothes are proscribed—a census is commanded—dead men's estates are to be properly guarded—mulberry trees, vines, salt, tar, pitch, and soap-ashes are to be encouraged. The people are not to plant more than one hundred pounds of tobacco per head, and they are absolutely required to *sow* great quantities of corn, to provide effectually against famine or even scarcity.

Thus enjoying the blessings of liberty, of health, of good laws, and of an amiable governor, the peo-

^a Charter, sec. vi., in Hening, i. 112. articles relating particularly to religion and the church, are given by

^b See them in full in Hening, i. 114–118; and condensed in Stith, 45. Dr. Hawks, *Ecclesias. Hist. Va.* 44, 194–196; Burk, i. 224–227. The

ple of Virginia began to put forth their energies, and already abundance and peace were the rewards of their exertions. But a dark cloud was gathering above them, unseen indeed by their eyes, which were sealed in placid confidence, yet pregnant with a storm that was soon to descend in horror and death upon their devoted heads.

Since the marriage of Pocahontas with John Rolfe, the Indians had preserved the most peaceful relations with the settlers, and hopes were entertained that permanent friendship would be established between them. The dominion of Powhatan had descended to his brother Opitchapan, a feeble and decrepit chieftain, who was neither dreaded by the whites, nor respected by his own subjects. But there was one mind among the natives, which now exercised all the sway of superior genius and courage. Opecancanough has heretofore been mentioned. It is doubtful whether he was in any manner related to Powhatan, though he is often spoken of as his brother. Among the Indians, and some of the whites, prevailed a belief that he came from a tribe far in the southwest, perhaps from the interior of Mexico.^a But in talents and influence he was now the ruling power among the savages. Profound in dissimulation, cruel by nature and by habit, patient of suffering, skilled in every species of treachery, and possessed of a ready eloquence, always at his command, he soon gained over the minds of his inferiors an ascendancy as resistless

^a Keith's Hist. Va., 144, 145.

as it was dangerous. When Sir Francis Wyatt assumed the government, he sent messengers to this powerful chief, asking a renewal of their friendly pledges, and promising his countenance and protection to the Indians. George Thorpe, a minister of the Gospel, possessed of great piety and zeal, accompanied this mission, and they returned perfectly satisfied with their success. Opecanough received them with every mark of delight; assured them that heaven and earth should mingle ere he should dissolve the peace between them; expressed much reverence for the Christian system, which was expounded to him; and, with consummate hypocrisy, renounced his own religion as a scheme of falsehood, invented by priests and conjurors.^a The simple-hearted divine was deceived, and began to cherish hopes that this perfidious savage would soon become a convert to the faith of the Redeemer. He even exerted himself to have a house built for Opecanough, with which the chief was so much delighted, that he could spend hours in locking and unlocking the doors of his mansion.^b Yet during all their interviews, this man was nursing in his bosom a plan of diabolical vengeance, which was soon to be carried into full effect.

The English had become careless and unsuspecting. Believing the natives to be their friends, they admitted them freely to their houses—some-

^a Account in Smith, ii. 66; Stith, 211; Grahame, in note, i. 75; Bancroft's U. S., i. 194.
209; Belknap, ii. 175.

^b Account in Smith, ii. 68; Stith,

times supplied them with arms, employed them in hunting and fishing for their families, and in all respects treated them as faithful allies. As habits of industry and steady labour gained ground, the colonists relaxed their martial discipline. The plough was a more useful implement than the musket, and the sword had given place to the hoe and the pickaxe. Seduced by the present tranquillity, and by the fertile soil found in belts of land upon all the rivers running into the bay, they had extended their settlements until they were now nearly eighty in number, and spread in scattered plantations over a space of several hundred miles.^a They were lulled into complete security by the demeanour of the natives; and those who were most zealous for religion, were beginning to hope that the seeds of the truth were taking root in many untutored minds, and would, after a season, produce fruits of joy and peace. Some were not thus sanguine; and among those who looked with most suspicion upon the Indians, we mark the name of Jonas Stockam, a minister, who has left on record an open acknowledgment of his distrust.^b His strong common sense, his knowledge of human nature, and his observations upon the natives around him, all confirmed his belief that they were yet highly dangerous, and that until their priests and "ancients" were destroyed, no hope of their conversion need be entertained. But his warnings, and slight proofs of enmity in the

^a Belknap's Am. Biog. ii. 182; Robertson, i. 413.

^b His opinion will be found in Smith, ii. 58, 59.

savages,^a were alike disregarded. The colonists remained immersed in unruffled security.

In the mean time Opecancanough was preparing the actors in his infernal drama. Either in person, or by his emissaries, he visited all the tribes composing the confederacy over which Powhatan had held dominion. He roused them to revenge; represented their wrongs; wrought their passions to intensity by mingled promises of blood and of rapine; pointed to the defenceless state of the colonists, and established a complete organization for the work of death. No people whom the world has ever seen can be compared with the aborigines of America, in skill to concert schemes of ingenious perfidy, and in the deep silence and caution with which they are accomplished. In the night, or the day, they move through the forest with a step more stealthy than that of the leopard, about to spring upon his victim. Large bodies pass from one point to another, and leave not a trace of their progress, or a sound by which their presence might be detected.^b The savages of Virginia were now embodied for their fatal purpose, and awaited but the signal from their leader to fall upon the unsuspecting colonists.

Opecancanough soon obtained a pretext for commencing hostilities. Among the Indians, was a noted young warrior, who had often distinguished

^a Burk, i. 238; Stith, 209.

^b Burk, i. 239; Robertson's America, i. 157. Mr. Cooper's admirable novel, "The Last of the Mohi-

cans," may be read with advantage by any one who wishes to obtain a correct view of Indian character and habits.

himself in the wars of his tribe, and who united to the other traits of the savage, a passion for dress so extravagant, that he was known by the English under the title of Jack of the Feather. His Indian name was Nemattanow. He was greatly esteemed by his countrymen for the grace of his person, and the boldness of his spirit; and having escaped without a wound from the many skirmishes in which he had been engaged, he was regarded by the simple savages as invulnerable and immortal. This reputation he highly valued, and sedulously cherished; but it was soon to be put to the test. He often visited the settlements, and was so well known that his appearance created no suspicion. At length he came to the house of a colonist named Morgan, urged him to accompany him to Pamunky for purposes of traffic, and offered him immense gain. The unhappy Englishman consented; but on the way he was murdered by his treacherous companion, and his body was rifled of its clothing.^a A few days afterwards, Nemattanow, wearing Morgan's hat, appeared on his grounds. Two strong young men, who had been employed by the colonist as labourers, immediately accused the Indian of having caused his death, and wished to carry him, for examination, before a justice of the peace. He resisted, and they instantly shot him down, and conveyed him, mortally wounded, towards the nearest magistrate. On the way, finding his strength fast failing, the ruling passion appeared strong in death. He implored them to bury his

^a Smith, ii. 66; Stith, 208; Burk, i. 236; Beverley, 41; Keith, 137.

body where it should never be discovered, and not to reveal to his countrymen that he had really died. So strong in the bosom of man is the desire for immortal fame among his fellow-beings.^a

There is reason to believe that Opecancanough secretly rejoiced at the death of this young warrior, whose influence had inspired him with jealousy;^b but he hesitated not to convert it to his own bloody purposes. He represented the case among the Indians in false colours, and urged them, by their affection for the memory of their favourite, to avenge his death upon the colonists. A time was now selected, and the natives were secretly drawn together to effect their design.

On Friday, the 22d day of March, the tragedy began. So perfect was the confidence of the settlers, that they loaned the savages their boats to cross the rivers for their deadly purpose—many of them even came in to take the morning meal with the whites, and brought deer, turkeys, fish, and fruits, which they offered for sale in the usual manner. But at mid-day the scene of blood was opened. Instantly, and as if by magic, the savages appeared at every point, and fell upon their victims with the weapons which first presented themselves. Neither age nor sex was spared. The tender infant was snatched from the mother to be butchered before her eyes,—wives were left weltering in blood in the presence of their husbands,—men, helpless from age, or wholly without defence, were stricken down ere they could see the foe who assailed them.

^a Burk, i. 237, 238; Stith, 208; Keith, 137. ^b Burk, i. 237; Stith, 209.

In one morning, three hundred and forty-nine settlers were slain upon the several plantations.^a The murderers were lashed into frenzied excitement by their own passions; and, not content with the work of death, they mutilated the corpses in a manner so revolting, that the original recorders of this massacre shrink from the task of describing them!

No considerations of honour or of gratitude restrained the hands of the savages. George Thorpe had been their friend, their benefactor, their steady advocate,—he had laboured alike for their temporal good and their immortal interests. Yet they repaid him by imbruing their hands in his blood, and then cutting and disfiguring his lifeless corse with all the fury of impotent malice.^b Six members of the Council were among the victims of this fatal day; and it would seem that nothing but a special intervention of the divine order of things saved the colony from total ruin.

Amid a scene of brutal murder, displaying the darkest passions that prevail in the human heart, it is grateful to be able to point with triumph to a victory achieved by Christianity alone; and if the Indians generally had been callous to all appeals from a higher authority than man, one of their number, at least, was destined to prove that his

^a In Smith, ii. 67, 75, 76, the number is inaccurately summed up, and stated at three hundred and forty-seven. The error is repeated

rected by Belknap, ii. 179, 180, who properly extends and sums up the original entries given in Smith, ii. 75, 76.

by Stith, 211; Beverley, 39; Keith, 138; Burk, i. 240, 241; Bancroft, i. 196; Grahame, i. 78. It is cor-

^b Smith, ii. 68; Stith, 211; Belknap, ii. 181.

race was not utterly abandoned to the dominion of evil. A young Indian convert, named Chanco, lived with Richard Pace, and was treated by him with all the tenderness of a son. The brother of this native slept with him the night before the massacre, and urged him to kill his master, telling him that he intended that fate for his own. But the young Christian recoiled with horror from the proposal, and the next day informed Mr. Pace, who instantly despatched an express to Jamestown.^a Thus the principal settlement was alarmed,—guns and swords were made ready, and the natives ventured not to make an assault.

It is remarkable that wherever resistance was made to these fiends it was entirely successful. Too cruel to be brave, they fled from the first vigorous onset; and had the colonists received one hour's warning, no life would have been lost that was not dearly atoned for. An old soldier who had served under John Smith, although surrounded by Indians and severely wounded, clove the skull of one assailant with a single stroke of an axe, and the rest instantly took to flight. A Mr. Baldwin, whose wife was lying before his eyes, profusely bleeding from many wounds, by one well-directed discharge, drove a crowd of murderers from his house. Several small parties of settlers obtained a few muskets from a ship that happened to be lying in the stream near their plantations,

^a Smith, ii. 71; Stith, 212; Belknap, ii. 179; Grahame, i. 77, 78; Burk, i. 242; Marshall, 60; Robertson, 414; Bancroft, i. 196.

and with these they routed the savages in every direction, and dispersed them in great alarm.^a

In reading these accounts, we know not whether to wonder more at the infernal skill of the natives in choosing the time and circumstances of their attack, or at the unparalleled confidence of the colonists while within reach of such a foe.

At the iron-works, which had been in successful operation at Falling Creek, the work of death was so complete, that of twenty-four occupants none escaped except a boy and girl, who concealed themselves with much difficulty.^b The superintendent of these works had discovered a vein of lead ore, which was of great utility until the massacre; but afterwards it remained unknown until Col. Byrd of Virginia bribed an Indian to reveal the spot, by dropping his tomahawk upon the place.^c

The immediate effects of this blow upon the colony were most disastrous. Horror and consternation pervaded every mind; nearly one-fourth of their whole number had, in a single hour, been stricken down. The rest were drawn hastily together around Jamestown. Distant plantations were abandoned, and in a short time eighty settlements were reduced to six. Some few bold spirits (and among them a woman) refused to obey the

^a An account of the massacre is given in Purchas, iv. 1788-1790. See Belknap, ii. 182. In See Stith, 212, 213; Burk, i. 242, 1840, more than eight hundred 243; Belknap, ii. 178; Holmes's thousand pounds of lead were produced in Virginia. Howe's Hist. Annals, i. 178, 179.

^b Beverley, 43; Belknap, ii. 181. Collec. 130; Murray's Encyc. Geog.

^c Beverley, 43. It is supposed iii. 521.

order, and remained on their country-seats, among their servants, mounting cannon at weak points, and preparing to meet the treacherous foe with becoming courage. But they were compelled by law to abandon their strongholds, and to unite their resources to the common fund. A terrible reaction in the feelings of the colonists immediately took place. They had trusted the natives and had been betrayed; they had given them arms only to be turned against their own lives; they had laboured for their good, and had been rewarded by seeing their wives and children butchered before their eyes. Their purpose now seemed not one of revenge, but of extermination. They could no longer hold any terms with a people whose friendship was hypocrisy, whose promises were falsehood, whose very smiles were the precursors of bloodshed and death. They regarded them as they would have looked upon the hyena, or the poisonous reptile, with which no safety can be enjoyed, except in his destruction. A war ensued, in which the fiercest impulses that man can feel were called into being. No truce was ever declared. The Indians were shot down at any time, and in any place in which they showed themselves. When seedtime approached, hostilities declined from absolute necessity. The English resorted to a stratagem which cannot be justified. Offering peace to the savages, they seduced them from their places of concealment; but in the midst of their labour, they rushed upon them, cut down their corn, and put to death a large number, among

whom were several of their greatest warriors and most skilful chieftains.^a So embittered and so deep was the feeling of hatred thus engendered between the races, that for many years it was transmitted from father to son. The colonists looked upon the Indians as their hereditary foes, and the unhappy natives never spoke of the "long knives" without fear and execration.

When intelligence of this massacre reached England, it excited profound sympathy in many bosoms. Instead of suffering themselves to be discouraged, the London Company determined on renewed efforts for restoring the colony. Captain John Smith offered his services to subdue the Indians, and openly proposed the policy of the Spaniards in South America and the Atlantic Isles as worthy of adoption. It is probable the brave Captain knew not all the cruelties of the people he presented as models; he had experienced savage perfidy himself, and would naturally regard no measures as too severe in order to their conquest.^b But his offer was finally declined. Some of the Company offered to permit him to go, provided he would bear his own expenses, and pay one half the *pillage* into their coffers! It is needless to say, that this proposal was indignantly rejected.

^a Stith, 303; Belknap, ii. 183; Marshall, 60. Mr. Grahame, with much liberality, endeavours to defend the conduct of the colonists; but he is not successful. Colon. Hist. i. 79, in note.

^b See Smith's Project and Offer, Hist. ii. 79-81. See, also, pages 73, 74, and 90; Hillard's Smith, ii. 385, 386; Burk, i. 248, 249. Compare Stith, 233, with Bancroft, i. 198, in note.

King James, on hearing of the disaster, was wrought into wondrous rage against the Indians, and affection for the settlers. Forthwith, he loaned the adventurers twenty barrels of powder, and sundry old swords and muskets from the Tower, which would have been useless in any hands, however skilful. He promised to raise four hundred soldiers in England, for the special protection of the colony; but this was never accomplished. His coward spirit delighted not in deeds of arms, or in preparation for the field of battle.^a

The zeal of the London Company, their exertions for the colony, and their heavy losses encountered in its behalf, did not shield them from the tyranny of the King. Among the writers who have recorded the life of this body, we find few to approve its conduct, and many to load it with indiscriminate censure. We are told of all the evils attendant on the deeds of a commercial corporation; but these evils are not specified, or if specified, not proved.^b It would be well to remember the difficulties that these adventurers had encountered and overcome. It is true the settlement had suffered from sickness, from famine, from savage warfare and from internal dissension; but, whether its condition would have been better under any other

^a Stith, 233; Belknap, ii. 185; system. Walter Scott's Hist. of Bancroft, i. 197. James was constitutionally timid. It has been supposed that the frightful murder witnessed by his mother, a short time before his birth, produced a permanent effect on his nervous

^b Grahame's Colon. Hist. i. 87, 88; Bancroft's U.S., i. 199; Robertson's Am. i. 417. All these writers condemn the Company.

form of government that James would have granted, remains to be proved. It is certain that the Company expended more than one hundred thousand pounds, for which they received no adequate recompense. It is certain, that, though clothed with absolute power, they freely granted to the colonists a representative government, which will for ever stand on record to vouch their generous spirit. It is certain they evinced steady interest in the affairs of the settlers, displaced wicked agents, removed grievances, and only ruled them with severity, when nothing else would have preserved them from destruction. Such were their good deeds; and if they often erred, their faults were venial, and merited not the fate to which they were finally subjected.

But we need not look to the errors of the London Company for the cause of its ruin. The motive of the King is much more obvious and much less defensible. With all the intensity proper to a monarch who claimed absolute power, he hated the semblance of liberty which appeared in the debates of the quarterly courts. The spirit of free inquiry was now rapidly gaining ground in England; it had manifested itself in the House of Commons, in many forms ungrateful to his majesty; but it chiefly pervaded the discussions of a body which he himself had called into being, and which now numbered more than a thousand adventurers. So open were the principles of freedom, declared and defended by the Company, that the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, warned the King against

their influence, and declared, that "The Virginia courts are but a seminary to a seditious Parliament."^a A despicable faction, composed of members, few in number but active in intrigue, sought to paralyse the energies of the Company and to render it a mere tool to the King. At the head of this court party we find the dishonest Warwick, the rapacious Argal, the sordid Cranfield, and the reptile Butler; and others composed it, equally adverse to freedom and to the true interests of the colony. The vanity of James had already received two mortal strokes, for which he never forgave the predominant party in the corporation.

In 1620, Sir Edwin Sandys having resigned the office of treasurer, the King determined to interfere and procure the election of one of his own creatures for his successor. He knew well that under the charter he had no right to nominate, or even suggest the officer upon whose fidelity to their interests the Company were so dependent; yet in a most indelicate manner he sent in the names of four persons, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Roe, Alderman Johnson, and Maurice Abbot, and declared his desire "out of his especial care and affection for the colony," that one of these should be made treasurer; but the Company showed no disposition to submit to this outrage, and the King, finding them firm, became alarmed, and with very ill grace withdrew his nominees; the meeting then immediately, by a unanimous vote, elected

^a New Description of Virginia, in Mass. Hist. Collec. ix. 113; Bancroft's U. S., i. 200.

the Earl of Southampton, a nobleman of great public spirit, and well known to be deeply imbued with the growing love of religious and civil freedom.^a It might have been supposed that this rebuff would have been sufficient, and that the nervous monarch would not have renewed an attempt, the failure of which had so deeply mortified him. Yet, in 1622, we find him again sending the names of five strenuous courtiers to the quarterly session, and imploring them to elect one of them treasurer. Again they refused; Southampton received a vote nearly unanimous; and James with difficulty retained his venom until a suitable opportunity should present itself for discharging it upon the hated corporation.^b

He gradually threw off the mask and assumed an attitude of direct hostility. Upon some frivolous pretext, Sir Edwin Sandys was imprisoned; but as he was an influential member of the House of Commons, the King found it necessary to explain his action to that jealous and formidable body.^c Charges against the Company were listened to with greedy ears; accusations were invented, and suspicions of malfeasance were nursed into realities. (1623.) At this time, one Nathaniel Butler returned from the colony, and being introduced by the court faction to the King, he highly pleased and edified his majesty by publishing a tissue of enormous falsehoods under the title of "The Unmasked

^a Stith, 178-181; Belknap, ii. 199, in note; MSS. Records of London Company.

^b Stith, 230, 231; Burk, i. 257.

^c Hume's England, iv. 279, chap. xlviii.

Face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the winter 1622.”^a In this ennobling production, he attacks with indiscriminate abuse the physical and social state of the colony, declaring that the climate was pestilential, the rivers were shallow, the soil was barren, the products were meagre, the houses were not fit for human beings, the people were seditious, the manufactories were neglected, the forts dismantled, and the whole settlement was in a miserable condition, “odious to themselves and contemptible to all the world.”

The King, pretending fully to believe these slanders, determined at once to wrest the government from the hands of the Company. (Oct. 8.) He coolly sent them a message, informing them that, having taken into his princely consideration the distressed state of the colony, he had resolved to change the mode of their charter. He intended to appoint a governor and twelve assistants, to reside in England, who were to fill their own vacancies with the concurrence of the king. This council was (the king concurring in like manner) to appoint a governor and twelve assistants, to live in the colony, and act as a provincial council. He did not design to deprive the colonists of the franchises they now enjoyed, but wished them to be more immediately under his paternal care. As to the Company, he asked them to decide, with all expedition, whether they would submit and surrender their charters; for should they resist, he gave them the

^a Stith gives the substance of this paper, 268-270; and Burk, i. 264-266.

consoling assurance that he should proceed to crush them in the manner he might deem most expedient.^a

When this order of council was announced, the Company were stricken dumb with astonishment. Unwilling, at first, to believe, they required that the paper should be deliberately read three several times, and when the last reading was over, for many minutes no man uttered one word. Profound silence reigned throughout the assembly. They could not bring their minds to receive the truth that the King contemplated an act of so gross injustice.^b But when the fact was finally realized, they resolved to defend with courage their privileges and chartered rights. A puny faction voted for the surrender, but one hundred and twelve members signified their resolve to defy the malice of the King.

His enmity did not long sleep. (Oct. 24.) To preserve the semblance of justice, he appointed commissioners^c to visit Virginia, and there to use their utmost industry in gathering subjects of complaint against the Company's management. They were to inspect plantations, forts, arms, boats, bridges, people, houses, savages; every thing in which they might detect malfeasance or abuse. (Nov. 10.) Seventeen days after their departure a writ of "quo warranto" issued from the Court of King's Bench, and was served upon the deputy treasurer and several other members of the Company. This well known

^a Stith, 293, 294; Burk, i. 269; wards governor, John Posy, Abraham Belknap, ii. 188; Robertson, i. 416; ham Pexly, Samuel Matthews, and Bancroft, i. 201, 202.

John Jefferson. Belknap, ii. 190; Stith, 297.

^b Stith, 294; Burk, i. 269.

These were John Harvey, after-

process subjects a corporation to a rigid judicial ordeal ; and it has as often been used as the instrument of rapine and violence, as of salutary correction.^a Nicholas Farrar, the deputy treasurer, was imprisoned, the records and papers of the Company were seized, and the court party endeavoured by every dishonourable means to perplex and disable their companions. Notwithstanding all this, the majority preserved their magnanimous bearing, and prepared with coolness for the expected shock.

(1624.) Meanwhile the commissioners had arrived in Virginia, and forthwith entered upon their task. (Feb. 14.) About the same time a General Assembly convened at Jamestown, and though every effort had been made to keep secret the object for which the commissioners were sent, yet by some means it was discovered, and the assembly appointed John Pountis,^b one of the Council, to go to England and plead the cause of the colony before his majesty. Their advocate died on the way, but the address of the Assembly was presented to the King. They earnestly protest against a return of the martial rule of Sir Thomas Smith, with its accompanying horrors of starvation and cannibalism. They completely refute the slanderous charges of Nathaniel Butler, and implore the King to support them in their present labours, and, above all, to continue to them the blessing of

^a Blackstone's Com. by Chitty, i. 404, book i. See Company's Chief Root of Differences and Discontents, in Burk i.,

^b Stith, 312. His name is given appendix. by some, Porentis, Belknap, ii. 192.

the free government they now enjoyed. We find this paper signed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the governor, and by several members both of the Council and House of Burgesses.

The acts of this Assembly are memorable, both from their antiquity and their intrinsic excellence. They are the earliest upon the statute book of Virginia.^a After providing for the due worship of God, and the support of the ministry, according to the false principles of their age, they set forth a "petition of right," which may be considered one of the clauses of our Magna Charta. The governor is forbidden to lay any taxes or imposts upon the colonists or their property without the consent of the General Assembly; neither can he withdraw the people from their private labours, except under special circumstances, and with strict impartiality.^b

The day of the massacre (March 22) is appointed for a holy-day, to be duly solemnized as other such days; trading with the Indians is forbidden; arms and ammunition are to be carefully guarded; and it seems that, at the beginning of each July, the colonists were required to make an attack upon the natives, in order to their total subjugation.^c

The remaining acts are, in general, judicious. We note, as a curious fact, that a short time afterwards, the governor was compelled to issue his proclamation under the authority of law, forbid-

^a They will be found in Hening's Stat., i. 121-126, and in Stith, 319-322.

^b Clauses 8 and 9, in laws of 1623-24; Hening, i. 124.

^c Clause, 32; Hening, i. 128.

ding any woman to engage herself to more than one man at the same time, and denouncing *corporal* punishment against the fair one who should thus offend.^a We have melancholy reason to believe, that such a law, in the present age, would not be without good effect.

The commissioners, finding the Assembly on their guard, and ready for defence, sought to intimidate them, and endeavoured to inveigle them into a surrender of their charter. But they steadily repelled these assaults; and when Edward Sharples, clerk of the Council, was convicted of breach of trust, in revealing their acts to the commissioners, he was condemned to the usual punishment. (May 10.) He was set in the pillory, and one of his ears was cut from his head;^b a penalty as degrading as it was richly deserved.

The Parliament of England had assembled, and the Company, despairing of justice from the hands of the King, appealed to the House of Commons. It has been said, that the cold reception given by this body to their address, furnishes conclusive proof that the Company was unpopular;^c but an egregious error may be here committed. When the humble memorial of the adventurers was presented, the King immediately sent a stern message, protesting against its reception, and peremptorily ordering the Commons to give it no countenance. This great branch of the legislature contained men

^a Stith, 322; Burk, i. 285, 286.

^b Belknap, ii. 194; Stith, 315.

^c Bancroft's U. S., i. 206, citing

Chalmers, 65, 66.

who hated oppression, and already looked with jealous eyes upon the royal prerogative; but they had not yet tested the full strength of their own powers of resistance, and they had always regarded the Virginia Company as peculiarly under the control of the crown, and protected by their charter from illegitimate interference. It is not singular, therefore, that the Commons should have obeyed the King, and refused to receive the memorial.^a Yet in the same session we find the Parliament declaring, that the Company ought to have the exclusive privilege of importing tobacco into the British realm.^b A strange liberality, truly, to be shown to an overgrown corporation, then tottering, as is alleged, beneath the full weight of popular odium!

To enable the Company to prepare for their defence, the Attorney-General was so far just as to cause their records and other papers to be returned to them. One of the last acts of this noble body, was the re-election of Sir Francis Wyatt, governor, by an overwhelming majority over his opponent, Samuel Argal, who was supported by all the influence of the royalist party. To the very moment of death, the Company manifested invincible courage; but its fate came hastening on.

When the commissioners returned from Virginia, they made a report,^c studiously unfavourable

^a Belknap, ii. 196, 197; Burk, i. 290, 291; see Stith, 326, 327.

^b Stith, 328; Burk, i. 291; Bancroft, i. 206.

^c It is given in Hazard, i. 189-192; Stith was not acquainted with its contents, 328; Burk, i. 291.

to the corporation. They represented the colony as in a most unhappy state, suffering with disease, famine, and Indian hostility; but they insisted that it *might* be made a valuable part of his majesty's domains. With cool effrontery, they declared, that the settlement was much better governed under the charter of 1606, and that the *popular* course it had assumed, both at home and abroad, since 1612, had been highly prejudicial to its interests. On hearing this report, the King delayed no longer the intended blow. By proclamation, dated 15th July, he suppressed the quarterly sessions of the Company, and ordered that, for the present, a meeting, composed of the Lord President, and some other members of his majesty's Privy Council, with a few knights and gentlemen, should be held each Thursday evening, at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, to consider the affairs of the colony.^a

Such was the end of the wealthy, the talented, the high-minded body, who had so long directed the destinies of Virginia. The King, by an illegal proclamation, inflicted the mortal stroke; the judicial sentence was afterwards pronounced: a proceeding as just as would be the conduct of a government in requiring its executive officer to put a prisoner to death upon a charge, afterwards to be examined and passed upon by a court of law.

At Trinity Term following, the quo warranto came on for trial in the King's Bench. The result

^a Stith, 329; Belknap, ii. 198.

could not long be uncertain, before a tribunal composed of materials dependent for existence upon the will of the crown.^a Yet we have reason to believe that the Attorney-General was compelled to torture his brain with more than ordinary vigour for arguments against the Company; and that some of his objections were so ludicrous as to excite derision even in the most favourable hearers.^b It is probable that the judgment was finally rendered upon a formal error in pleading committed by the agent of the Company, and not upon the broad merits of the case.^c But whatever may have been the means employed, the end was surely accomplished. The London corporation was dissolved, and the King appropriated to himself the power of directing the colony as his sapience might deem most expedient.

He suffered the local government to remain undisturbed, but employed his leisure hours in preparing a new code of laws for the growing people whom he resolved once more to enlighten by special emanations from his own mind. (1625, March 27.) Happily for Virginia, his legislative labours were arrested by death; and the King, who had claimed for himself the immediate sanction of the Almighty, was summoned to His bar to give account of his stewardship. A writer who loved the Stuart family more than he venerated truth, has said, that "in all history it would be difficult to

^a Blackstone's *Commen.*, by Chitty, i. 200, book i.; Bancroft, i. 207.

^c Note to Bancroft, i. 207. See Gordon's *Am.*, i. 49.

^b See note to Belknap, ii. 199, citing Peckard's *Life of Farrar*.

find a reign less illustrious, yet more unspotted and unblemished ;”^a but candour will accord little credit even to the negative innocence of a sovereign whose avarice had no restraint but his impotence, whose bigotry was scarcely neutralized by his personal vices, and whose love of dominion was only controlled by his contemptible cowardice !

^a Hume’s Eng., iv. 309, chap. xlix.

With much reluctance, we are here compelled to bid adieu to Stith as our guide. His history does not extend beyond 1624. He is often harsh and inelegant in style, and he has crowded his pages with a mass

of unimportant matter ; but he is rigidly accurate, and his love of freedom entitles him to our sincere respect. Beverley, p. 44, ascribes the dissolution of the London Company to King Charles, in 1626 ! and, as usual, he is echoed by Keith, p. 141.

PART II.

CHAPTER V.

Character of Charles I.—His proclamation concerning the colony—The representative government still exists—Indian war—Death of Sir George Yeardley—Proposals of the King—Rejected by the Assembly—George Calvert, Lord Baltimore—He refuses to take the oath of supremacy in Virginia—Sir John Hervey—Good and evil of his administration—Settlement of Maryland—William Claiborne—Hervey deposed—Restored by the King—Tobacco laws—Sir William Berkeley governor—His character—Prosperous state of the colony—The Established Church—Intolerant laws—Indian hostilities—Capture of Opecancanough—His death—Increase of population—Shipping—Rebellion in England—Execution of Charles I.—Ordinance of the Long Parliament—Virginia remains loyal—Fleet sent to subdue her—Resistance—Honourable surrender—Independence under the Protectorate—Samuel Matthews governor—His death—Election of Sir William Berkeley by the Assembly—Restoration of Charles II.

AT the age of twenty-five, Charles ascended the throne left vacant by the death of his father. The life of this unhappy prince seems to embrace every thing necessary to warn both monarchs and subjects:—monarchs, against the exercise of oppressive powers bequeathed by their ancestors;—subjects, against the rash use of their sacred right of revolution. Had he been born in an humble condition, and had he lived amid the refined enjoyments of private life, his dignity of manner, his affectionate temper, his social virtues, would all have combined to render him useful, beloved, and happy. But he was born a king,—and for this he lived in tumult

and ceaseless conflict, and died upon a scaffold erected by hands, which might have been joined in asking benedictions upon a sovereign possessing power less ample and more strictly defined. He received from the unsteady grasp of James a ponderous crown, worn in triumph by Henry and Elizabeth, but crushing in its pressure upon brows less firm and unyielding. He fell a victim to an expansive power in the minds of his people, rather than to tyrannous dispositions in his own heart. He fell, not because he desired to oppress, but because he knew not how to yield. He asserted principles, and claimed rights far less stringent than those of many of his predecessors; but he did this at the fatal time when man had learned his own natural nobility, and could receive nothing as belonging to the constitution of his country that contravened the great rules of original justice.

Had Charles not fallen by the hands of his people, posterity would have pronounced him an injudicious and uncompromising monarch,—willing to oppress his subjects for his own private benefit, to sacrifice his friends for his own selfish interests, and to put in motion tyrannous engines to secure what he regarded as lawful ends. But the blood which flowed beneath the axe of his executioner has atoned for many faults; the premature grave to which he was consigned has entombed many of his most flagrant errors; and infatuated as was his conduct, we cannot look upon his fate without deep commiseration. The art of his apologist was not required, to cause tears to fall upon the

tomb of a husband so exemplary, a father so tender and devoted, a friend so willing to serve, so reluctant to betray.^a

The young King did not leave the colonists long in suspense as to the principles upon which he intended to govern them. He issued several proclamations, in which he declared that, after mature thought, he had adopted the views of his father concerning them; and he ascribed all their misfortunes to the government of the corporate democracy which had but just fallen in ruins. He declared his intention to govern them by the council which James had instituted, consisting of men appointed by, and responsible to, his majesty alone.^b (April 9.) He confirms the monopoly of tobacco granted under the advice of Parliament to the Virginia and Somer Island Companies;^c but, being already pressed by that want of money which was the proximate cause of his ruin, he sought to supply it in a mode highly injurious to the colonists. (May 13.) He assumed the position of a royal factor, decided that he was substituted to all the rights of the deceased London Company, and demanded that every pound of tobacco brought from the colonies should be committed to his agents,

^a See Hume, iv. 405, chap. lii., and

v. 244, 246, chap. lix.; Blackstone's

Commen. by Chitty, i., book i. 158.

In elevating Milton, Mr. Macaulay

has, I think, unduly depressed

Charles.—Miscel. Essays.

^b Grahame's Colon. Hist. i. 89;

Marshall's Am. Colon. i. 64.

^c Hazard, i. 202, 203; Bancroft, i.

210.

who gave a certain price to the owners and secured a heavy profit for the crown.^a

The governor and council for the colony appointed by the crown were invested with powers as ample as Henry VIII. could have desired. They were to make laws and provide for their execution, to impose taxes and enforce their payment, to seize the property of the late Company wherever they could obtain it, and to send colonists for trial to England whenever they thought it expedient.^b No notice whatever was taken of the representative government, which had been regularly established in Virginia. Whether the King thought it unwise directly to overturn a system to which the people were so much attached, or whether he deemed it too feeble to be dangerous, we do not certainly know; but he undoubtedly left alive the infant who was now fast growing into the full proportions and intelligence of vigorous manhood.^c

From the arbitrary theories advanced by the King, we might naturally infer that the settlers immediately felt the hand of oppression bearing heavily upon them; but this was not the case: the people continued true to their duties, quiet in their deportment, yet firm in the assertion of their rights. Habits of industry and sober living had gained

^a Hazard's *S. Papers*, i. 203-205; Bancroft, i. 210; Marshall's *Am. Colon.* i. 64; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.* i. 90.

^b Marshall's *Am. Colon.* i. 64; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.* i. 90.

^c Burk's *Virginia*, ii. 15; Bancroft's *U. S.*, i. 210, 211; Gordon's *Am.* i. 50.

ground among them. They had already tasted the sweets of rational freedom, and were not disposed to forfeit them, either by seditious tumult or by unworthy indolence. We note with surprise and pleasure a proof of their firmness. Edward Sharples, who had received an ignominious punishment for his treachery in 1624, appealed to the Privy Council; the King took his part, and sternly rebuked the provincial government, yet they met his proclamation with steady courage, and abated not in any respect their sentence against this perfidious agent.^a

It should also be remembered, that, notwithstanding Charles's appointment of a new government, the General Assembly continued to exist. Usage had established it, and several expressions in the King's messages were construed into a design at least to connive at its existence. It had already planted its roots too deeply in the hearts of the people, to be torn out without a struggle. It is true we have no authentic record of its proceedings from 1624 to 1629;^b but we have reason to believe that during that time it had regular sessions, and we find the Provincial Council often relying upon and enforcing its enactments by their own executive power.^c

The hostility of the Indians continued unabated.

^a Burk, ii. 11, citing ancient MSS. Mr. Burk seems to have had access to a copy of the records of our State, preserved by Col. Byrd, and rescued from the wreck caused by the Revolution. From this he has drawn rich

materials for his history (ii. 7); and had his prudence been equal to his love of freedom, we might rely upon his statements with perfect safety.

^b Hening's Stat. at Large, i. 129.

^c Ibid, i. 129; Burk, ii. 15.

Memory called up in the bosoms, both of natives and of colonists, a dark record of injuries sustained, and of insult unavenged. Even the wavering Opitchapan was compelled to take the field, and at the head of eight hundred bowmen of the tribe of Pamunky, and a large number from surrounding clans, he boldly offered battle to the English. Francis Wyatt, in person, led on the whites. A conflict took place in the neighbourhood of Pamunky, and from all that we can gather concerning an event veiled in singular obscurity, we believe that the savages were defeated with heavy loss, and that the colonists were only prevented from marching upon Mattapony by want of ammunition.^a It seemed vain now to hope for any permanent peace between the contending parties, until one or the other should be totally disabled; and in a contest between knowledge and ignorance, the result could not long be in doubt.

(1626.) Sir Francis Wyatt had proved himself a good governor and a steady friend to the interests of the colony. The death of his father called for his presence in Ireland,^b and on leaving Virginia, Sir George Yeardley assumed his place. The name of this latter gentleman was sufficient to assure the settlers that their rights would be respected and their welfare secured. He had brought the original authority for a General Assembly from England in 1619, and at all times he had shown a

^a Campbell's Va., 58; Burk's Va., ii. 12, 13.

^b Bancroft, i. 210, says, "Scotland," but Burk says "Ireland," ii. 12; and he is probably correct.

sensitive desire for the prevalence of the *free* principle in the colony. His health was delicate, but his mind was fully adequate to his task; and under his administration, Virginia increased rapidly in wealth and population. In one year a thousand emigrants arrived, confidence gathered strength, the soil was cleared, bread-stuffs were in demand, and the colony wore the aspect of a very vigorous and thriving community.^a (1627, Nov.) But unhappily, in the midst of his usefulness, the governor was stricken down by death, leaving behind him a name unstained by any gross vices, and so dear to the people over whom he had presided, that their grief found vent in a eulogy upon his virtues, immediately transmitted in a letter to the Privy Council in England.^b

On the death of Yeardley, the Council, in pursuance of a power expressly granted them by the King's proclamation,^c proceeded to elect his successor, and Captain Francis West receiving a majority of votes, was duly installed into office (Nov. 14). But his career was distinguished for nothing but its brevity; it is probable he died early in the succeeding year, as we find in the records of the state the name of John Potts as governor, who

^a Bancroft's U. S., 211; Burk's Va., ii. 20, 21. Dr. Robertson does on Virginia, becomes a dangerous guide.

great injustice to Sir George Yeardley's character, Am. i. 418. After the U. S., i. 211.

dissolution of the London Company, ^c Hazard's State Papers, i. 233; the Doctor, at no time very accurate Burk's Va., ii. 22.

must have been elected about the beginning of 1628.^a

(1628.) The striking event of this year was the session of the General Assembly, expressly ordered by the King himself, to take into consideration certain proposals made to the settlement in behalf of his majesty. In the previous year he had sent them a curious letter, in which he indulges his royal wit in some keen observations at the expense of the weed which formed the staple of Virginia. He tells them that their prosperity rested upon an unstable basis; that it was “built on *smoke*, and would easily turn into *air*, if either English tobacco should be planted or Spanish imported.”^b He urges them to turn their labour to pipe-staves, pot-ashes, iron, vines, and bay salt, rather than to this hateful commodity; but finally, should they absolutely refuse to give up tobacco, he modestly proposes that he shall be made their sole factor, and shall take it all at three shillings per pound; of which, one shilling and threepence were to be paid in cash upon its receipt.^c To these overtures the Assembly were now to give a reply, and we find no hesitation in their conduct. With due respect, yet with unshaken firmness, they declined the proposals of the King, adhered to their staple,

^a Burk, ii. 23, citing ancient records; Henning's St., i. 131, 132, giving in full a proclamation of John Potts, Governor, dated March 20, 1628-29. It may be well here to state, that the old method of computing time was from the 25th of

March in one year to the 25th of March in the next. See Jarvis's Introduction to the Hist. of the Church, 96, edit. 1845.

^b Burk's Va., ii. 19.

^c Ibid. ii. 20.

which men were now prone to consider almost essential to comfort, and refused to permit the price to be settled by any rule other than that inflexible law imposed by the relation of supply and demand.

During this year arrived in Virginia, a nobleman, whose life and fortunes have had a material influence upon the American Republic. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was beloved by James and by his son for his firm devotion to their interests as monarchs; and candour compels us to add, he was respected and revered by all good men for his commanding talents, his industry in office, his steady adherence to principle, and his spotless purity in the discharge of responsible trusts. In 1624, he declared himself a Roman Catholic upon serious conviction, and immediately resigned his lucrative office under the English government.^a King James, always sufficiently partial to popery, was so much affected by this conduct of his favourite, that he continued his name on the list of his Privy Council, and conferred upon him the title which himself and his descendants so long retained. Wishing to plant a colony in the new world which should be an asylum both for his friends and his religion, he obtained a grant of the southeastern peninsula of Newfoundland.^b But the hostility of the French and the rigour of the climate so discouraged him, that he abandoned his settlement, after having expended much care and money in its foundation, and came to Virginia, hoping to find

^a Belknap's Am. Biog. iii. 207. Burk's Va., ii. 25; Grahame's Colon.

^b Belknap's Am. Biog. iii. 208; Hist. ii. 2; Bancroft's U. S., i. 256.

in her genial air and fertile soil the means of effecting his desires.^a

But here a difficulty awaited him, which had not been expected. The Church of England was regularly established by law; and the express requirements of the King, in the several charters given to the colony, demanded that all should take the oath of supremacy in the fullest and most unequivocal terms.^b The freedom enjoyed by Americans since the Revolution, as to all religious tests and obligations, may cause us to look with pain upon restrictive measures applied to the human conscience; yet, under the existing circumstances, we cannot be surprised that the colonial government should have regarded with distrust a wealthy and influential nobleman, professing a creed, which not merely ascribes to man the infallible judgment of God, but subjects every papist, in every country, and under every national rule, to the paramount *temporal* authority of the Roman Pontiff.^c On his lordship's arrival, the test act was brought forward, and the oath of supremacy tendered to him in the ample form prescribed by the law then in force. He refused to take it, but tendered for himself and his Catholic followers a modified form of the oath, in which he promised all obedience consistent with his rights of conscience. This the Council de-

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist. ii. 2; Belknap's Am. Biog. iii. 209.

^c Blackstone's Commen. (by Chitty), ii., book iv. 37. See outline, in Howe's Hist. of Virginia, 56.

^b Section xxix., in second charter, Hening, i. 97, 98; sec. xii. and xiii. in third charter, Hening, i. 105, 106.

clined, and referred the whole matter to the Privy Council in the mother country.

Lord Baltimore was greatly charmed with the appearance and native advantages of Virginia. He sailed up the Chesapeake, and navigated the noble river which then bounded most of the settlements of the colony. Observing that the beautiful country north of the Potomac had then few or no European inhabitants, he determined to seek from the King a grant covering this region, and to plant in it a colony according to his own just and expanded views of colonial policy. He returned to England, and easily obtained from a partial monarch a charter, containing within its broad folds many thousand acres of land, long since fully conveyed by the patents of James, and claimed by the Virginia Colony on the basis of a title, alike well grounded in law, in justice, and in the common consent of mankind.^a But it would be premature now to enter more fully upon this grant. We shall meet again with the name of Calvert and the title of Baltimore, when we reach the period of the settlement of a sister state, whom Virginia has not loved the less because her portion was first assigned to her by an act of regal usurpation, committed on the fair domain of the elder settlement.

During the remainder of this year we note little of importance, except another session of the Assembly and an irruption of the Pamunky and Chickahominy Indians, attended with considerable loss

^a See Belknap's *Am. Biog.* iii. 209, 210; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.* ii. 3.

to the English. One of the most gloomy consequences of this state of hostility, now permanently established, was the almost entire destruction of good faith between the belligerents. The Indians had never exhibited it; but the whites soon vied with them in perfidy, inviting them to conferences only to cut them off when unprepared, and offering them peace to fall upon them when disarmed. The natives were speedily undeceived, and never again trusted to their enemies' assertions, whatever solemnities might attend them.^a

(1629.) Early in the next year came the new Governor, Sir John Hervey, from England, bringing a broad commission and ample powers from his royal master. Concerning this officer's character and conduct, disputes have arisen and doubts have prevailed, which will probably never be finally determined, until we shall obtain clearer light upon the transactions of this the most obscure period of colonial history.^b It is certain, however, that he was one of the commissioners who visited the colony in 1624, to aid King James in his purposes against the Company; and from this we fairly infer, that neither was Hervey very accept-

^a Burk's Hist. Va., ii. 26, 27; Campbell, 60, 61, is less violent and more accurate. The author of the

^b Robertson, i. 419; Marshall, i. 65; Burk, ii. 28-31; Gordon's Am. i. 50; Grahame, i. 91, and even Keith, 143, 144, condemn Hervey in unmeasured terms. They bestow upon him every epithet that can apply to the worst of tyrants. Campbell, 60, 61, is less violent and more accurate. The author of the "Outline," in Howe's Hist. Va., 56, 57, is moderate and cautious. He seems, in the whole of his Outline, to have borrowed much from Mr. Bancroft, who has given us, i. 214-218, probably, the most faithful sketch of Hervey now attainable.

able to the settlers, nor were his own feelings towards them of the most cordial character. During the ten years in which, with few intermissions, he governed the colony, he often adopted stern measures, and encountered opposition from the Assemblies which frequently sat in the course of his period of dominion. It is probable that he was a man fond of money, and little scrupulous as to the means of obtaining it; for we find bitter complaints of his appropriating fines to his own use, and levying taxes unauthorized by the legislature, and the proceeds of which were turned into his private coffers.^a Another trait, scarcely less odious, was his bigotry, which led him to enforce with absolute rule the laws providing for the Church, to require rigid conformity in all, and to revive obsolete demands for religious observances, greatly to the annoyance of the mass of the colonists.^b

Yet, with all his faults, Hervey had some qualities which made him useful and respectable in his station. He carefully supervised the military plans of the settlement; caused a fort to be erected at Point Comfort, well placed for defending the mouth of the river; encouraged the manufacture of saltpetre and potash; revived the salt works at Accomac, which had long been neglected; established semi-monthly courts at Jamestown; and, notwithstanding his own vices, with an inconsistency but too common to human nature, he sought to infuse into the laws most wholesome precepts as to

^a Burk, ii. 28, 29, 33.

^b Burk's Va., ii. 28.

morality and religion.^a In the year 1630, we note, with surprise and pain, a prosecution against Dr. John Pott, the late governor, on a charge of stealing cattle, which resulted in his conviction, and he was only saved by a reprieve from ignominious punishment.^b The governor fostered with care a spirit of maritime enterprise; sent out an expedition to trade between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of latitude; and most cordially invited the people who had settled in New England, to desert their cold and barren soil, and take refuge in the more genial climes of Virginia and Delaware.^c

Whatever may have been the wishes of Hervey as to taxation, it is certain that the General Assembly never submitted to any claims of this character not warranted by their own assent. In the session of 1631, we find a bold and lucid declaration, denying to the chief executive officer the right to levy any impost without the concurrence of the legislature; and enacting that, in future, the governor should have no power to enforce the services of colonists for his own private benefit, or to levy them for war without the consent of the Council. We have reason to believe, that Hervey gave his constitutional vote for this law, which was too just and too popular to be safely rejected.^d

^a Burk's Va., ii. 31; Campbell's Va., 60; Henning's Stat. at Large, i. 155-160.

^b Henning's Stat. at Large, i. 145, 146. Sundry other convictions by the Council will be found on these

pages; the last is that of Hugh Davis, Sept. 17, 1630, which seems highly judicious. Burk, ii. 30.

^c Burk, ii. 32; Bancroft, i. 213.

^d Burk, ii. 33, 34; Henning's Stat., Acts 24th and 26th, 1631-32, i. 196.

But the cause which has been urged, with greatest effect, for the odium into which the governor finally fell, seems to have been his culpable coalition with King Charles and his favourites, in encroachments upon the public domain of the colony. As early as the year 1630, Charles granted to Sir Robert Heath an immense tract of country, beginning at the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, and running south so far as to embrace almost the whole of the territory now occupied by the Southern States of our Union. This huge grant compromised many vested rights in Virginia; but, as it was not proceeded upon for several years, it never became a source of discontent.^a During Hervey's administration, several patents were granted by the English sovereign, interfering materially with prior claims under the colonial patents; and the governor is, with good reason, supposed to have derived pecuniary profit from his connivance at these usurpations.^b But at length a more serious inroad was made upon the broad lands of Virginia.

George, the first Lord Baltimore, died in April, 1632. But the patent prepared for the father, was immediately assigned to the son, Cecelius Calvert, who inherited the dignity of manner, the purity of morals, and the religious prepossessions of his sire. By this patent, Charles calmly granted the magnificent tract of country lying on both sides of the

^a Outline, in Howe's *Hist. Collec.*, 57; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, ii. 70.

^b Burk's *Va.* ii. 38.

Bay of Chesapeake and north of the Potomac, running up to the fortieth parallel of latitude, from the point where it strikes the first fountain of the river even to the Atlantic Ocean.^a Under this grant, Leonard Calvert prepared for a settlement. The whole tract was clearly within the limits of Virginia; and though it may be that few settlers had yet planted themselves north of the Potomac, yet that fact did not in any manner give to the King the right to dispose of land which could only be lawfully obtained by regular deeds, under the seal of the provincial authorities. Early in the year 1634, Calvert, with two hundred persons of good families, and of the Roman Catholic creed, arrived in America, and proceeded to Jamestown to pay their respects to existing powers. The Governor and Council received them courteously, but it was distinctly announced to them that their grant was considered an encroachment upon the rights of Virginia. They then sailed up the Chesapeake, and laid the foundations of a state, upon which, in honour of the Queen, Henrietta Maria, they bestowed the name of Maryland.^b

Difficulties speedily presented themselves. A

^a Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, iii. 213; "Crescentia;" such was Lord Baltimore's selection, but on referring the question to Charles, the King suggested the name of his much-loved Queen, and, of course, all debate was closed.—Ogilby, 183, cited by Belknap, *Am. Biog.*, note to page 212, vol. iii.

^b Mr. Campbell, p. 59, appears to be guilty of a ludicrous error. He says, it "was settled in the reign of *Queen Mary*, and, in honour of that princess, was called Maryland." This state narrowly escaped the title of

turbulent character, named William Claiborne, who had at one time been a member of the Virginia Council, had obtained from King Charles a license, authorizing him to traffic in parts of the colony for which no prior license existed. Under this power, he had settled himself with a band of followers upon Kent's Island, near the present site of Annapolis; and, when summoned by Calvert, he sternly refused to submit to his jurisdiction. Hostilities immediately commenced. Claiborne was captured, and, being brought to trial, he was found guilty upon the grave charges of murder, piracy, and sedition. But, finding means of escape, he fled to Virginia, and voluntarily surrendered himself to Sir John Hervey, who, after some delay and indecision, sent him to England for final trial.^a

The people of Virginia, though willing to extend to the settlers in Maryland the hand of friendship, had always regarded their grant as a serious encroachment upon their own rights. The Governor was looked upon as secretly favourable to the views of the King. A short time before this we find him paying an amicable visit to Calvert, and communing with him freely as to his future plans.^b His treatment of Claiborne gave great offence. Many thought that the rights of this agitator ought

^a Belknap's Am. Biog., iii. 216; land. See Grahame's Colon. Hist., Burk's Va., ii. 40, 41; Bancroft's ii. 13, 14, 20, 25.

U. S., i. 264-266; Outline, in Howe's ^b Belknap's Am. Biog., iii. 221, Hist., 57. This Claiborne was long 222.

a disturber of the peace of Mary-

to be upheld; and that his settlement on Kent's Island, being in accordance with a prior authority from Charles, could not be affected by the subsequent grant to Maryland. This seems to have been the prominent ground of complaint against Hervey.^a But it is altogether probable that many other sources of dissatisfaction concurred, for we cannot believe that this alone would have produced the violent explosion which soon followed. In 1635, we find an Assembly solemnly convened to receive charges against the governor. Popular feeling had risen high. Whatever causes had operated, it is certain that Hervey was looked upon with universal dislike,—that he was considered the friend of tyranny, and the enemy of the people. In a short time the Assembly met; and, after due deliberation, they adopted a measure so bold and so unprecedented, that nothing but undoubted testimony could convince us of its truth. Sir John Hervey was “thrust out of his government, and Captain John West was to act as governor till the King's pleasure be known.”^b

When the suspended governor was thus sent

^a Howe's Hist. Collec. Outline, 57; Bancroft's U. S., i. 216, 217.

^b Henning's Stat. at Large, i. 223; Bancroft's U. S., i. 217. Burk, ii. 42, intimates that the order of Council suspending Hervey, recited this act as being “by reason of his haughtiness, rapacity, and cruelty, his contempt of the rights of the colonists, and his usurpation of the privileges of the Council;” but Mr.

Henning, a safer guide, gives no countenance to this statement. See Campbell, 61. Robertson's account, i. 419, would create the impression that Hervey was violently seized by a mob, and sent out of the country! It is strange that Mr. Frost should countenance this idea; yet I can gather nothing else, either from his words or his picture, in his Pictor. Hist. U. S., i. 114.

back to his master, the Assembly deemed it expedient to send commissioners, selected by themselves, and supplied with a full body of evidence to sustain every charge preferred against the accused. But Charles regarded this whole proceeding with unmingled disapprobation. Already his intractable parliaments at home were entering upon that series of fearless measures which finally arrayed the King and the people in martial order against each other. The unhappy monarch was vacillating between his love of power and his fear of defeat—his need of money and his dependence on his people for aid,—and at such a period, each step of the popular spirit in its onward course was regarded with jealousy and pain. The King did not even condescend to give audience to the commissioners of the colony.^a Their complaints were unheeded, their charges were unheard. Without bringing Hervey to trial, his partial sovereign reinstated him in office, and sent him back to Virginia; giving to the colonists the meagre solace of a commission, in which the government was required to be administered on the principles of the period during which the Assembly had existed.^b

From this time we hear of no complaints against the governor. Experience may have taught him moderation; and the salutary fear of assemblies which regularly sat and acted upon the affairs of

^a Burk's Va., ii. 45; Robertson's Am., i. 419; Outline in Howe's Hist. Collec., 58; Bancroft's U. S., i. 217. hame, i. 93, represents this commission as less favourable to the colonists. Gordon, Am., i. 50, sends

^b Bancroft's U. S., i. 217. Gra. Hervey back in 1637.

the settlement, may have restrained his former propensities. In 1639, he was quietly superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, who had previously governed the colony with much satisfaction to its people and honour to himself. His administration was brief,—so brief, indeed, that it seems to have escaped the notice of many of our most diligent historians.^a Yet, during its progress, certain laws were enacted by the General Assembly, which, in later years, have been misunderstood, misrepresented; have drawn upon their authors the contempt of some, the censure of others; but which, when fully explained, furnish evidence of wisdom and foresight, rather than of weakness and dishonesty.

(1639.) Let it be remembered, that at this time Virginia and the Somer Isles enjoyed the exclusive sale of tobacco in Britain. By reason of its excessive production the price had fallen so low, that the planters could neither subsist themselves, nor pay their just debts, nor turn their labour to any other staple. (Jan. 6.) Under these circumstances, the Assembly passed a law requiring all the tobacco raised this year to be viewed,—the whole of that decayed and unmerchantable, and one-half of that really good, to be *burned*.^b Now, although this weed was valueless to those who had not learned to use it, yet with those who had become its vota-

^a This rule between Hervey and Hening, i. 225; Bancroft, i. 218; Berkeley is mentioned by neither Campbell, 61; Grahame, i. 95.

Burk, Keith, Chalmers, Beverley, ^b Hening's Stat., i. 224; Outline, Robertson, nor Marshall. But see in Howe, 59.

ries it was almost necessary to existence. They would give any price to obtain its odorous consolations. Therefore the withdrawal of one-half the usual quantity from market would immediately enhance the value of the remainder in due proportion. Thus far, then, none will object to the law of the Assembly. But they go on, in the same clause, to enact that all creditors, in payment of their debts, should be compelled to receive forty pounds of tobacco for one hundred formerly given; and, immediately afterwards, that no man should be obliged to perform more than half his covenants for freighting tobacco in 1639.^a Upon these provisions great obloquy has been heaped. They have been pronounced iniquitous and absurd, but they will bear a rigid scrutiny. Tobacco was at this time the medium of exchange in Virginia. Very little metallic coin had found its way to the colony; and the settlers did not hesitate to resort to the practice of primitive ages, and to make currency of an article convenient of access, and in universal demand. Hence the necessity for guarding against excess in its production, and against the use of tobacco of inferior quality; for these causes would affect commerce as injuriously as a plethora of bank paper, or an influx of spurious coin. Now, when the legislature required that more than one-half of the existing supply should be destroyed, the necessary effect was to render the remnant more than doubly valuable to the holder; therefore, had the

^a Henning's Stat., Acts I. & II., Sess. 1639, i. 224, 225; Outline in Howe's Hist. Va., 59.

planters still been held to the payment of their debts at par, they would in fact have paid more than double their amount. Thus, if a debtor owed one hundred pounds of tobacco prior to 1639, when the commodity might be worth three shillings per pound, his debt might be estimated at fifteen pounds sterling. But after 1639, the price would be perhaps eight shillings per pound; and had he still been compelled to pay one hundred pounds, he would in fact pay to his creditor the sum of forty pounds sterling in value. The injustice of this must be obvious. The Assembly acted wisely and equitably in their requirements. They did not enhance the value of their coin, and still compel debtors to meet the nominal amount of their dues; but having really increased its value, they properly adapted to it the corresponding amounts which creditors might claim.^a

In August of 1641, Charles appointed to the direction of the affairs of Virginia a gentleman whose name is inseparably interwoven with the early destinies of our state. William Berkeley was a cavalier of the most rigid and approved school then known in the British realm; pure blood and high connexions gave dignity to his name;^b refined manners and the ease imparted by long contact with polite society, rendered his person acceptable to all he encountered. He possessed the singular and scarcely definable art, of enlisting alike the

^a A full and impartial view of this question will be found in the Outline subject, i. 218.

History prefixed to Howe's Hist. ^b Biography in Campbell's Va., Collec., 58-60. Mr. Bancroft is not Appendix, 253.

confidence of the high and the low, the mighty and the humble. Imbued with the very spirit of the English gentleman, he knew how to avoid the extremes of forbidding coldness or of dangerous familiarity. He was valued by his friends for his warm affections, and respected by his foes for his upright demeanour. Yet with so much that was excellent, he developed traits which tended powerfully to lower what would otherwise have been a truly lofty character. His loyalty was so excessive that it blinded his eyes to the faults of a crowned head, and steeled his heart against the prayers of oppressed subjects. He could not tolerate the least appearance of opposition to the rights claimed by his King; and this feeling seems to have been heightened, rather than diminished, by the growing spirit of freedom that he marked among the commons of the mother country. He loved the monarchical constitution of England with simple fervour; he venerated her customs, her church, her bishops, her liturgy, every thing peculiar to her as a kingdom; and believing them to be worthy of all acceptance, he enforced conformity with uncompromising sternness. Many virtuous propensities, when urged to excess, become the sources of vicious conduct. Had Sir William Berkeley descended to his grave at the time when Charles II. gained the English throne, we might with safety have trusted to those historians who have drawn him as adorned with all that could grace and elevate his species.^a

^a Campbell's *Va. Biog.*, 253; Robertson's *Am.*, i. 419; Marshall's *Am. Colon.*, 66. Really to admire Sir William; Keith, 144, "A worthy, good, and just man." Even Burk, i. 46.

But he lived long enough to prove that loyalty, when misguided, will make a tyrant; that religious zeal, when devoted to an established church, will beget the most revolting bigotry; and that an ardent disposition, when driven on by desire for revenge, will give birth to the worst forms of cruelty and malice.

(Aug. 9.) The commission issued by the King to the new governor was, in many respects, liberal and just to the colonists;^a it recognised the existence and rights of the Assembly, which had theretofore been connived at rather than openly approved; it encouraged the burgesses to unite cordially with the governor, and to aid him in preparing a new code of laws, and in adopting the most salutary customs of the English realm. We may imagine the pleasure felt by the settlers who had thus guaranteed to them their much-loved form of government, and who were at length blessed with a head, apparently resolved to devote all his energies to their welfare. Joy and harmony prevailed; the people were full of love to the King, and zeal for his service. Industrious habits had long since become confirmed among them, and though the bias of their origin still operated upon their manners and their morals, yet they were no longer excited to turbulence by want or by discord, in their ruling councils. Amid so much of cheerfulness and hope, they barely noticed one clause in

^a This commission is in Hazard, i. 218; Marshall's Am. Col., 66; i. 477, 480. See Grahame's Colon. Gordon's Am., i. 51.

Hist. Am., i. 95; Bancroft's U. S.,

the commission to the governor, which savoured strongly of a narrow and unjust policy, afterwards carried into full effect under the Protectorate, and in the reign of the second Charles. The King required that all the commerce of the colony should flow into or through the veins of the mother country. To enforce this provision, Sir William Berkeley was instructed to demand from the master of every vessel trading from Virginia, a bond obliging him to land his cargo, either immediately in England, or in some other part of the king's dominions in Europe.^a

(1642.) In February the new governor arrived, and assumed the reins of his colonial province. Nearly his first act was to call a meeting of the General Assembly; and in a short time this body convened at Jamestown, full of joy because of the favourable change in their affairs, and inspired with gratitude to a king whom they believed to be truly their benefactor. It having been represented to them that George Sandys had presented a petition to his majesty, praying the re-establishment of the old London Corporation, and, acting as though under the guidance of the colonial Assembly, they immediately drew up a paper, called "A Declaration against the Company," and transmitted it to England, with the signatures of the governor, the council, and nearly all the burgesses. In this paper they protest vigorously against the revival of the Company. Some have supposed

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 96; Bancroft's U. S., i. 219; Robertson's Am., i. 420; Gordon's Am., i. 51.

that their opposition was caused by their hatred of the measures formerly adopted by this celebrated body;^a but impartial inquiry will convince us, that they were moved rather by their newly-born zeal for their monarch, than by any well-founded arguments against the London Corporation.

With remarkable, perhaps we should add ungrateful, inconsistency, we find them urging as a reason against its revival, the prevalence of assemblies under Charles, forgetting that to this much-injured body was Virginia indebted for the very privileges that the King had at last so reluctantly confirmed.^b We read, too, charges against the "intolerable" tyranny of the very man whom the *Court* party had caused to be elected; and we even find what seems to be a bitter complaint against the clause in the first patent of James, requiring all things, for five years, to be held in common,^c although they could not be ignorant that the Company had rejoiced as greatly as the colonists when this unwise restriction expired. Perhaps the clearest light thrown upon the conduct of the Assembly, is furnished by the clause in which they protest, in the most obsequious style, against "so unnatural a distance as a company will interpose between his sacred majesty and us his subjects."^d The time was not far distant when the unhappy colonists would have rejoiced in any intervening shield be-

^a Compare Bancroft, i. 220; Gra-hame, i. 97; Marshall, 66; with Burk, ii. 72-74.

^c Obj. i., in Dec., in Hening, i. 231; Burk, ii. 69.

^d Third Objection, in Dec., He-

^b See Declaration, in Hening, i. 231; and in Burk, ii. 69, in note.

ning, i. 232; Burk, ii. 70, in note.

tween their defenceless heads and the sword of the monarch, grasped by the hand of the very governor whom they now delighted to honour.

But, whatever may have been the motives impelling the Assembly, it is certain that their petition was highly acceptable to the King. (July 5.) From his Court, at York, he returned them a gracious answer—complimenting them upon their loyalty, expatiating upon his own abundant “grace, bounty, and favour” towards them, and promising never to restore a Company to power which seemed now equally unwelcome both to crown and to colonists.^a

The influence of a popular governor, and of excited hope, acted like a charm upon the interests of the settlement. The commercial restrictions were not enforced with rigour, and attracted so little attention that we hear no complaints at this time made against them. Recovering, with elastic strength, from the pressure they had so long sustained, the colonists increased rapidly in numbers, in wealth, in general intelligence. The papers prepared by the Councils, or even by individuals, at this period, bear upon their faces the impress of minds in love with freedom, and expanded by culture. The assemblies were regularly convened; and they passed laws, many of which still remain upon our ancient statute book, to attest the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers. Notwithstanding their veneration for the governor, we note with pleasure the same jealous regard for the rights of the people which they had always evinced. In

^a Burk, ii. 74, in note; Gordon's America, i. 51; Bancroft, i. 221.

the midst of the session of 1642-43, we find a statute forbidding the Governor and Council to lay any taxes or imposts upon either persons or property, except by authority of the General Assembly.^a

But in one respect, the laws of this period were as unjust and cruel in theory, as they were dangerous and destructive in their practical tendency. The Church of England had always been the cherished establishment of the colonists. The early settlers of Virginia had no sympathy with the Puritans, who were now so rapidly increasing in numbers and power in the mother country. Two classes may exhibit the whole religious aspect of the colony, at the time when Berkeley assumed its government. One consisted of the cavaliers and gentlemen planters, who, with a reputable regard for order and morality, and strong prepossessions in favour of the ancient "régime" of England, looked upon the Church as closely connected with all that was dignified and honourable. They loved her ministers, her forms, and, perhaps, her creed; and they looked with distrust upon all innovation. These men were ardent friends of freedom; and, had they lived in England, it is not improbable that closer acquaintance with prelacy, and experience of its inseparable connexion with the maxims of civil tyranny,^b would

^a Act iii., Laws, 1642-43; Hen-
ning's Stat. i. 244.

^b "No Bishop no King," was a
favourite maxim of James I., who,

with consummate folly in general,
sometimes exhibited singular acute-
ness.

have driven them into the Puritan ranks, which now embraced the noblest hearts and clearest intellects found in the English realm. The other class included the lower order of colonists—labourers, artisans, servants—men who had never been remarkable for virtue; who found little congenial to their tastes in the strict morality of dissenters; who looked upon religion with indifference, and were content to discharge their obligations to the Supreme Being by attendance upon the forms of an established church. From neither of these classes could we expect any serious resistance to the known wishes of Berkeley, who was a churchman of the deepest dye. The Assembly quietly proceeded to pass laws of the most stringent character on the subject of religion. Strict conformity was required; tithes were inexorably imposed; ministers' persons were invested with a sanctity savouring strongly of superstition; popish recusants were forbidden to hold any office, and their priests were to be banished from the country; the oath of supremacy to the king, as head of the Church, was in all cases to be tendered; dissenting preachers were strictly forbidden to exercise their office; and the Governor and Council were empowered to compel "non-conformists to depart the colony with all convenience."^a

Such laws, in the present age, would blacken the statute book of any people with a stain never to be

^a Laws, in Hening's Stat. i. 240, 241, 243, 268, 269, 277; Burk's Va., ii. 66, 67; Bancroft, i. 222, 223.

erased. Yet should we remember, that they were the results of the age rather than expressions of popular feeling. Toleration was then almost wholly unknown. Men had not learned, that the human conscience is a thing too sacred to be touched by human laws. Religion was regarded as all-important; and each dominant sect, believing its own peculiarities to embody the truth, sternly required that all should believe according to its cherished faith; forgetting the precepts of Him who declared that He was neither a Judge nor a Ruler of the affairs of man, that his Father was to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and that even enemies were to be loved rather than persecuted. Men professing His religion had for centuries disgraced the Christian world by their cruelty to those who ventured to decide for themselves in a matter affecting their own immortal interests. The Church of Rome was chiefly prominent in the work of blood; the Church of England followed in her footsteps, and left the fields of Scotland covered with the dead bodies of her victims. The Puritan Church of Massachusetts could not resist so imposing examples, and hung Quakers and persecuted Anabaptists with edifying zeal. With these models before, around, and behind her, it is not wonderful that Virginia should have yielded to the temptation, and given her hand to the demon of Intolerance. Yet it is consoling to reflect, that no actual violence followed these enactments; and when, nearly eighteen years afterwards, the first martyrs to religious freedom fell

upon the soil of New England,^a the elder colony was wholly unstained by blood shed under laws so unholy and vindictive.

While the colonists were thus voluntarily imposing upon themselves a burthen of ecclesiastical oppression, an ever active foe was preparing to inflict upon them a dangerous wound. The Indians were now inveterate enemies. Peace was never thought of. Successive enactments of the Assembly made it a solemn duty to fall upon the natives at stated seasons of the year, and heavy penalties were visited upon all who traded with them, or in any mode provided them with arms and ammunition. The whites were steadily increasing, both in moral and physical strength; the Indians were as rapidly wasting away before the breath of civilized man. A few incursions,—a few convulsive efforts, always attended by heavy loss to themselves,—one final struggle,—these will complete their history in Eastern Virginia.

The illegal grants, favoured by Sir John Hervey, had provoked the natives into active hostility. They saw their hunting grounds successively swept away by a power which they were unable to resist, and all the passions of the savage arose to demand revenge.^b When Sir William Berkeley arrived, he used all his influence to mitigate the

^a See Grahame's Colon. Hist. i. 309. In 1659–60, four Quakers, three men and one woman, were executed at Boston. Bancroft, i. 488–496. ^b Beverley, 49; Burk's Va., ii. 51; Keith, 144.

injustice of these grants, in their effects both upon the colonists and the Indians;^a but enough remained to inflame the spirits of men who were yet heated by the recollection of past misfortunes. Among the natives there still lived a hero, who had proved himself a formidable adversary, even when encountered by European skill. Opecan-canough had attained the hundredth year of his life.^b Declining age had bowed a form once eminent in stature and manly strength. Incessant toil and watchfulness had wasted his flesh, and left him gaunt and withered, like the forest tree stripped of its foliage by the frosts of winter. His eyes had lost their brightness, and so heavily did the hand of age press upon him, that his eyelids drooped from weakness, and he required the aid of an attendant to raise them that he might see objects around him.^c Yet within this tottering and wasted body, burned a soul which seemed to have lost none of its original energy. A quenchless fire incited him to hostility against the settlers. He yet wielded great influence among the members of the Powhatan confederacy; and by his wisdom, his example, and the veneration felt for his age, he roused the savages to another effort at general massacre.

The obscurity covering the best records which remain of this period, has rendered doubtful the precise time at which this fatal irruption occurred;

^a Keith, 145. Keith's opinion of Berkeley is always favourable.

^c Beverley, 49-51; Keith, 145; Burk, ii. 57.

^b Burk's Va., ii. 62.

yet the most probable period would seem to be the close of the year 1643.^a The Indians were drawn together with great secrecy and skill, and were instructed to fall upon the colonists at the same time, and to spare none who could be safely butchered. Five hundred victims sank beneath their attack. The assault was most violent and fatal upon the upper waters of the Pamunky and the York, where the settlers were yet thin in number and but imperfectly armed.^b But in every place where resistance was possible, the savages were routed with loss, and driven back in dismay to their fastnesses in the forest.

(1644.) Sir William Berkeley instantly placed himself at the head of a chosen body, composed of every twentieth man able to bear arms, and marched to the scene of devastation. Finding the savages dispersed and all organized resistance at an end, he followed them with a troop of cavalry. The aged chief had taken refuge in the neighbourhood of his seat at Pamunky. His strength was too much enfeebled for vigorous flight. His limbs refused to bear him, and his dull vision rendered

^a Beverley, who has given the original account of this massacre, cannot be relied upon for the time, 49-51. Mr. Burk, ii. 54, thinks it was in the winter of 1641, or early in the next year. In the office of the General Court of Virginia, held in Richmond, are several MS. volumes of Records, which give valuable light upon several subjects con-

nected with our history. In the most ancient of these volumes I find the following entry: "6th day June, 1644. By reason of the *late bloody massacre*, divers plantations have been abandoned." For direction to this passage, I am indebted to Gustavus A. Myers, Esq.

^b Burk, ii. 55; Keith, 144; Campbell, 62, 253.

him an easy prey. He was overtaken by the pursuers, and carried in triumph back to Jamestown.

Finding the very soul of Indian enmity now within his power, the governor had determined to send him to England as a royal captive, to be detained in honourable custody until death should close his earthly career.^a The venerable chief lost not for a moment his dignity and self-possession. True to the principles of that stoicism which had ever been the pride of his race, he looked with contempt and indifference upon the men who held his liberty and life in their hands. It might for the sake of humanity have been hoped, that one thus bending under the weight of years, and standing upon the verge of the grave, would be suffered to go down to the dust in peace. But a death of violence awaited him. A brutal wretch, urged on by desire to revenge injuries to the whites which had long been forgotten or forgiven, advanced with his musket behind the unhappy chieftain, and shot him through the back!^b We know not whether this murderer was punished; but could his name be known, his deed would entitle him to a place among the most hateful and black-hearted of mankind.

The wound thus given was mortal. Opecanough lingered a few days in agony; yet, to the last moment of life, he retained his majesty and sternness of demeanour. A crowd of idle beings

^a Keith, 146; Burk, ii. 59; Beverley, 50, 51. 96, in note, speaks with a coldness not very creditable to his heart, concerning this dastardly murder.

^b Burk, ii. 58. Mr. Grahame, i.

collected around him to sate their unfeeling curiosity with a view of his person and his conduct. Hearing the noise, the dying Indian feebly motioned to his attendants to raise his eyelids, that he might learn the cause of this tumult. A flash of wounded pride and of just indignation, for a moment, revived his waning strength. He sent for the governor, and addressed to him that keen reproach, which has so well merited preservation: "Had I taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to my people."^a In a short time afterwards he expired.

Opecancanough was a savage, and with no justice can he be judged by the rules of Christian morality. If he was revengeful, he had wrongs to revenge; if he hated the whites, he loved his own people, whom he believed to be their victims. If he made war with the darkest perfidy, it was the manner of his race, and not a crime peculiar to himself. Indian valour would avail little in the open field against European science, and Indian wiles alone could compensate the disparity. He was faithful to his own countrymen, among whom he ruled for many years with the sway of a superior mind; and the circumstances of his death affixed another blot upon our escutcheon, already stained with the blood of thousands of native Americans.^b

^a Beverley, 51; Burk, ii. 59; note to Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 96; Keith, 146; Campbell, 254. The last two writers attribute this re-

mark to Opecancanough *before* he was shot; but Beverley contra.

^b The reader will derive pleasure from Mr. Burk's sketch of Opecan-

After the death of this warrior, the celebrated confederacy of Powhatan was immediately dissolved. Originally formed by the force of the emperor's genius, it was preserved during his life by his influence, and, although constantly growing weaker, it remained formidable so long as Opecanough survived to inspire it with his own courage. But now it was without a head, and the members fell away and speedily lost all tendency to cohesion.^a The Indians had learned, by fatal experience, that they contended in vain with the whites. Their spirits were broken; their buoyancy was gone; they had no alternative, except to suffer their savage habits to be moulded into civilized forms, or to be wasted by the resistless march of the new power in their land. Few, too few, we fear, chose the wiser part. The greater number could not yield, and the result need scarcely be told. They have faded away and gradually disappeared, never more to return.

(1645.) Happily relieved from fear of the savages, the people of Virginia addressed themselves to their duties with great vigour and success. Sir William Berkeley paid a brief visit to England, leaving Richard Kemp to perform his duties in his absence.^b (1646, Oct.) About a year after the governor's return, peace was concluded between

canough, ii. 57-63. This writer, although often turgid and declamatory in his style, always evinces the warmest sympathy for the oppressed and the unhappy.

^a Burk, ii. 63.

^b Bancroft, i. 224. In Hening, i. Oct., 1644, we find the name of Richard Kempp, as governor; and, in Nov., 1645, Sir William Berkeley has resumed his place.

the colony and Necotowance, the successor of Ope-cancanough.^a The red men submitted to terms proposed by their conquerors, and yielded up all claim to lands upon which their fathers had hunted for immemorial ages. We cannot yet dismiss them from the page of Virginian history. Hereafter, they will hold a subordinate part in the drama in which they were once the most exciting actors. Art had conquered nature ; science had taken the place of untaught ingenuity ; Christian rites were substituted for the gross forms of savage superstition.

Under a government yielding to them liberties, which had already become dear to their hearts, the colonists had few causes either of fear or of complaint. Their commerce was yet unrestricted, and the full monopoly they enjoyed for their staple in the English market, gave them lucrative advantages. Their soil was fertile ; their climate was charming ; peace had returned to their borders ; the savages around them were no longer active in hostility. Social happiness flowed to them from fountains provided by their own industry and care. Their numbers rapidly increased. About the close of the year 1648, we find a notice of the shipping of the colony. Ten ships visited them regularly from London ; two from Bristol ; twelve from Holland, and seven from New England.^b The population had already attained to twenty thousand

^a The full treaty will be found in Mass. Hist. Collec., ii., ix. 118 ; Bancroft's U. S., i. 226. Hening, i. 322-326.

^b New Description of Virginia, in

souls.^a Gradual *climatization* had made the air friendly. Except at certain seasons, and upon unfavourable spots, we hear no more of fatal fevers, and of those numerous forms of disease which had assailed the early settlers. General content prevailed in Virginia. Although they loved liberty with warm affection, the people loved the King, from whom, as they verily believed, they had obtained a full grant of this precious boon. Had they lived in the mother country at this time, it is reasonable to suppose they would have sympathized with the men who sought to restrict the royal prerogative; but, at a distance, they saw not the vices of a dominion which had never pressed heavily upon them. Attached to a religion of forms, and despising Puritanism, they wished not to identify themselves with a rebellion conducted almost exclusively by men who were dissenters from the church establishment of England.^b

But while the colony was thus prosperous, peaceful, and happy, the mother country was shaken to her centre by the contest now in progress between her people and their unhappy monarch. To detail all the important events which attended this struggle, would not be consistent with the plan of this narrative. Charles had summoned and dissolved

^a Burk, ii. 81; Robertson's Am. i. 420; Marshall's Am. Col., 68; Bancroft, i. 226.

^b Burk thinks that religious zeal was the *principal* cause of the attachment of Virginia to the interests

of the King, ii. 75. This is not at all probable; a majority of the people of the colony cared very little for religion, provided their civil rights and their private inclinations were not disturbed.

successive parliaments with ever-growing danger. He had claimed rights to which no free people could submit, and had enforced his claims by arbitrary imprisonments and all the tyrannic enginery of the Star Chamber and the Tower of London. He had raised money so long as he could extract it from his people without the aid of the Commons; and when at length he was compelled to meet them, he encountered nothing but resistance, and a resolution to maintain their privileges. He devoted his unfortunate friend to the scaffold, that his blood might appease the stern spirit that had arisen among his subjects; but he soon learned, in bitter self-reproach, that the hour of safety was gone. At open war with the people of England, he drew around him many gallant souls ready to meet death in the service of their sovereign; but their strength was feeble in contest with a nation. Betrayed by those to whom he had entrusted his safety, the monarch was carried through the forms of a trial, before a body from which all moderation had been forcibly expelled; and, on the 30th January, 1649, England gave to the world the sublime but most dangerous example, of a king publicly executed by the hands of his own oppressed people.

If a powerful reaction took place in Europe upon the death of the royal victim,—and if many who had been foes were now almost converted into friends, we may presume that, in Virginia, popular feeling was not less enlisted in his behalf. The deed was done. They could not recall him from the tomb; but they could remain faithful to his

son, and they could resist all attempts to subject them to the dominion of the Long Parliament. Charles, the unworthy son of an unhappy father, yet survived to give embodiment to those who wished a renewal of monarchy. An exile from his country, he took refuge at Breda, and drew around him a slender court, composed of men who had loved his parent, and who were willing to die for the child. They were not long in marking the loyalty of Virginia, and Charles had now too few real friends to be able to neglect any with impunity. (1650, June.) He sent from Breda to Sir William Berkeley a new commission, confirming the powers granted by his father,^a and the distant colony remained true to the fortunes of the outcast Stuart, when all other parts of the world where his language was spoken seemed combined for his destruction. It has even been supposed that the Queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, had formed a project, with the aid of the sovereign of France, for transporting to the hospitable shores of Virginia a large body of her retainers, and of continuing in the new world the monarchical reign, which, in the old, had been so suddenly and fatally arrested.^b

When the Long Parliament had attained to supreme power, they did not confine their views to the domestic administration of the English com-

^a Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 97; Bancroft's *U. S.*, i. 226; Robertson's *Am.*, i. 420. lish fleet, and speedily discomfited. Davenant's life was only preserved by the friendship of John Milton.

^b The poet Sir William Davenant accompanied the expedition; but it was encountered at sea by the Eng- See Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, i. 113, Milton; Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, i. 98, in note.

monwealth. Already their fleets had gone abroad in every sea, and they began to learn how strong was that arm which has since made the name of Britain formidable to all the world. Distant colonies could not be unimportant;—Massachusetts had already submitted with joy to their rule—or rather, she had hailed the late revolution as a change of all others most grateful to her people.^a With, perhaps, as much love of rational liberty as was felt in Virginia, the northern colony had likewise the warmest sympathy for the Puritan sects who had achieved the overthrow of monarchy in England; and they hastened to grasp the hand extended to them by their religious brethren in Parliament. Under these circumstances, we are not surprised that the sturdy republicans of the mother country should have looked with displeasure upon the loyal spirit of Virginia, and should have determined at once to reduce her to subjection by open force.

But they found the task by no means so easy as had been expected. If the minds of the colonists were already strongly prepossessed in favour of the Stuart dynasty, this feeling was not diminished by the opening acts of the Commonwealth. Anxious to attract to their own coffers some of the wealth which Holland was amassing by her carrying trade, the Parliament had already required that all commerce between England and the rest of the world, should be conducted by English

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 290–293.

ships, English captains, and a large proportion of English sailors. The result was a war between the Dutch and the young republic, in which terrific contests at sea took place between their fleets;^a and though Holland was sometimes successful, her rival gained rapidly in confidence, in fame, and in maritime skill.

Following up a policy, of which the germ at least can be detected in the commission of Charles I. to Sir William Berkeley, the Parliament issued an ordinance, forbidding all commerce with the colonies, except to those bearing a special license, either by their own authority or from the Council of State. The navigation act, above noted, operating to confine the carriage of colonial produce to English ships, the combined effect of these ordinances was to secure an absolute monopoly of the commerce of the colonies to the mother country.^b

(1651.) But this was not all. A powerful fleet, carrying, besides its proper crews, a large land force, was entrusted to the command of Sir George Ayscue, with directions to subdue the islands of the West Indies, and to reduce all refractory colonies to subjection. The orders of Parliament were stern and decided. Ayscue was to offer mild terms if the rebels would immediately submit; but should they resist, he was to open upon them all the terrors of war. He was even directed to inspire the

^a Hume's Com., v. 296, 297, 313. ordinance of the English Parliament

^b Burk, ii. 81; Bancroft, i. 229; may be seen in Hazard, i. 635-638. Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 100. The Gordon's America, i. 51.

slaves of the colonists with thoughts of revenge against their masters, and to place in their hands proper weapons for domestic bloodshed.^a

(1652.) The renowned naval commander promptly obeyed the commands of the Commonwealth. Sailing immediately to the West Indies, he reduced Antigua and the Barbadoes to subjection, and then turned his eyes to Virginia. His active subaltern, Captain Dennis, entered the Chesapeake early in March, and sailed up to Jamestown with the firm belief that he should encounter no serious resistance. But he was destined to disappointment. The brave cavalier who governed Virginia, esteemed this a fit occasion for displaying his loyalty to his King and his hatred of the Commonwealth. His military force was small, but highly efficient; Jamestown was armed and carefully guarded. All who could be depended upon for service were employed; muskets were prepared, and cannon were remounted. An accident gave to Sir William Berkeley material aid. Several Dutch ships were now lying at Jamestown, and their commanders and crews knew well the fate they must expect in case the cause of the Commonwealth should triumph. Their rich cargoes would fall a prey to the republicans, and their own persons would be detained as prisoners of war. They did not long hesitate to unite with the colo-

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 99. nuity than success, to mitigate their
See the original instructions in Hazard's S. Papers, i. 556-558. Mr. harshness, i. 240, and in note. See
also Gordon's America, i. 52.
Bancroft attempts, with more inge-

nists in their effort to repel the invaders.^a Their cargoes were unladen and carried on shore; select crews were assigned to each ship, and they were moored in a line along the peninsula on which the town was built. Their guns were heavily charged, and their broadsides brought to bear upon every point from which an attack might be feared. Sir William Berkeley superintended all these dispositions, and placed his force in a manner which would have enabled him to offer a formidable resistance.

When the Parliamentary force discovered these warlike measures, they were brought to a stand. Dennis seems at once to have abandoned all thought of a violent attack, the issue of which must have been very uncertain. He resorted to negotiations as a means of success much less precarious than an assault upon a line of Dutch batteries, backed by a strong force of the bravest spirits in Virginia.^b What might have been the

^a Burk, ii. 82; Beverley, 52; Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 99; Keith, 147; Marshall's Am. Colon., i. 67. Substantial as these Dutch ships certainly were, Mr. Bancroft seems not to have found them. Even Oldmixon had vision keen enough to see them, i. 375.

^b Mr. Bancroft has seen all the events of this period, through the thick vapour of his own prepossessions. He says, "No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake, than all

thoughts of resistance were laid aside." He represents Virginia as having willingly yielded to the rule of the Commonwealth, and attributes to her a show of resistance, resulting rather from the obstinacy of her character than from her loyalty to the King. He relies, with much complacency, upon Clarendon, who belonged to a class of historians, proverbially ignorant of, and indifferent to colonial affairs; and cites two other authorities, to wit: Strong's Babylon's Fall, of which the name

result of his offers, had no private interest intervened, we cannot say. The Governor, the Council, the General Assembly,^a and a large majority of the people, were loyalists of the straitest sect; and the Dutchmen would have fought by the side of their allies with that phlegmatic resolution which has ever distinguished them. But the republicans found means of throwing an apple of discord among their enemies, and of distracting their counsels by an appeal to the selfishness of the human heart.

Aboard the English fleet there was at this time a large quantity of goods belonging to two members of the Provincial Council. After some messages had passed between the adverse parties, and terms of accommodation had been offered by the republicans, Captain Dennis, of the fleet, found means to convey to these two councillors, intelligence concerning their goods, wares, and merchandise, aboard his ships; and he delicately hinted to them that the fate of their property depended upon their own conduct in the pending

seems enough to convict it of the worst errors of Puritanism, and Langford's Refutation. Concerning both of these, I do confess myself to be ignorant; but it does not seem reasonable that Mr. Bancroft should prefer them to the united testimony of Marshall, Robertson, Beverley, Keith, Burk, Grahame, and even of the articles of submission themselves

in Hening. See Review of Bancroft's U. S., in Southern Lit. Mess., i. 587-591; Hawks's Eccles. Hist. Va., note A., 283-286.

^a Let any one who doubts the attachment of the Assembly to the King, read the stern enactments, in Hening, i. 359-361, Sess. 1649-50. They might have been penned by a firm believer in the "jus divinum."

discussion.^a This skilful touch upon a very sensitive nerve, was not without its effect. In the Council, two at least would be strenuous advocates of pacific measures, and there were doubtless others equally willing to submit. Yet we need not attribute so unworthy an origin to the final decision of the Governor and the General Assembly. All must have seen, that whatever temporary success might attend their arms, they must at length be crushed in a conflict with the mighty Commonwealth, whose name was already formidable throughout Christendom. While they could obtain favourable terms, it was wise to submit, and nothing can more fully vindicate both the honour and the prudence of their conduct, than a view of the articles of surrender, to which the Virginia colony finally assented.

By this treaty,^b it was agreed that the colony should be and remain in obedience and subjection to the Commonwealth; but this should be considered a voluntary thing, and not imposed upon them by force of arms; and in proof of this, they were to enjoy all the "privileges and freedoms" of the most favoured subjects of English government. The General Assembly was to convene and enact laws as before, with the sole restriction

^a Beverley, 52; Keith, 147; Campbell's Va., Appen., 255; Burk's Hist. Va., ii. 84.

^b The articles are given in full in Henning, i. 363-368; in Burk, ii. 85-91; in Hazard, i. 560-564. See also

Bancroft, i. 240, 241; Grahame, i. 100; Campbell's Va., 64, 255; Marshall, 67-69; Robertson, 421; Jefferson's Notes, 116-120; Gordon's America, 52.

that their statutes were to be consistent with the government and laws of the mother country. A total remission and indemnity for "acts, words, or writings" against the Parliament was provided. The existing boundaries of Virginia were guaranteed, former patents were confirmed,—even free trade was fully granted to the colonists "to all places and with all nations."^a No taxes, customs, or imposts, were to be levied upon them, except by consent of the Assembly; they were to be at no charge in respect of the fleet to which they surrendered; and should any of the inhabitants not choose to submit to the Commonwealth, they were allowed one year to remove themselves and their estates out of Virginia. Public arms and ammunition were to be given up; but not until security was provided that satisfaction in some equivalent should be made for them. Dutch goods already landed were to be free from forfeiture, and the quit-rents granted by King Charles upon the public domain were to be continued. It was even agreed that the use of the Book of Common Prayer should be continued for one year in those parishes which desired it, provided only that the parts recognising the King and the royal government should not be publicly used.^b When we remember the uncompromising dislike felt by the republicans in general to every thing connected with the Church of England, we may pronounce this last-named con-

^a Art. 7, Hening, i. 364. This clause is remarkable, after the ordinance of 1650.

^b 11 Art., Hening, i. 364; Jefferson's Notes, 118.

cession the most liberal granted to the royalist colony.

But the articles did not rest here. The generous men who represented the people of Virginia, wished to provide for the safety of a governor to whom they were warmly attached, and whose well-known love for the King might have brought upon his head the displeasure of the Commonwealth. Separate articles were agreed upon for the special benefit of Sir William Berkeley. Neither was he nor were his council to be required for "one whole yeare," to take any oath of allegiance to the republic, nor were they to be censured for speaking well of the King. He was permitted, at his own charge, to send a messenger with a report of his proceedings to the sovereign whom he still recognised. His lands, his personal property, his debts, were all secured to him, and he was allowed one year to provide a ship and transport himself and his effects to any part of the world he might choose. Should he land in England, he was even allowed six months "to follow his occasions" after his arrival.^a

These articles, public and private, are followed by a general grant of indemnity to all the inhabitants of the colony, for all acts, words, and writings, by them at any time committed against the Parliament. The whole treaty is signed and sealed on the 12th day of March, 1651-52, by Richard

^a Hening, i. 365-367; Burk, ii. 85-88.

Bennett, William Claiborne, and Edmund Curtis, in behalf of the Commonwealth of England.^a

Never, we may say, did a conquered province obtain terms of settlement so favourable to her privileges, her liberties, her honour, as did Virginia in this memorable treaty. Whether her courageous spirit, her internal resources, or her distance from England, operated to secure her from the grasp of the conqueror, we do not know. It is certain that Oliver Cromwell was not one to be daunted by resistance, or to be easily reconciled to a steady adherence to the family whom he had driven from the English throne. But it may be that he was too wise to be harsh. That sagacious intellect which, during eight years, rendered his Protectorate the most glorious period that his country had ever known, failed not to suggest to him the true policy of the mother towards her colonial offspring. Endeavouring, by moderate enactments, to secure to England the benefit of the commerce of the colonies, he left them, in other respects, to the guidance of their own assemblies. In religion he interfered but little. In the northern settlements, changes were not necessary, for their people were already among the firmest and most

^a Mr. Bancroft refers this treaty of surrender to the year 1652, i. 240, properly, I think; for Hening recites it as an act of March, 1651-52, which, according to the known mode of computing time at that period, would be in 1652. It ought,

however, to be mentioned, that Marshall, 67, Robertson, 421, Burk, 85-89, Campbell, 254, Jefferson's Notes, 116, Keith, 147, Beverley, 52, Grahame, i. 99, Hume's Hist. Eng. v. 291., chap. lx., all bear testimony in favour of 1651.

untainted of Puritans; and we have seen that in Virginia, the ritual of the Church of England was but slightly modified.

The happy effects of this policy have not been concealed. Though the period from her surrender to the Commonwealth until the restoration of Charles II. be too quiet to be brilliant, yet the colony then enjoyed every thing essential to her welfare in profusion hitherto unknown. Her General Assemblies were freely elected by the people, and exercised every power of government, whether legislative, executive, or judicial.^a So little jealous did they seem of the authority of the Commonwealth, that at their meeting in April after the surrender, they elected to the office of governor Richard Bennett,^b a well-known republican, and one of the commissioners of the English Parliament. In detailing the events of this period, we are liable to the errors into which several historians have been betrayed, either by their partiality to a favourite theory, or their hatred of Cromwell and all his measures. One has represented Virginia as ruled by governors appointed either by the Commonwealth or the Protector — as groaning under oppression and restraint, imposed by this wondrous despot—as filled with gallant cavaliers and gentlemen, who had fled to her soil to excite pity for their king and rebellion against the ruling powers;^c but these state-

^a Mr. Hening, i. 526, 529, in note, ably sums up the arguments in favour of this view. Bancroft, i. 241, 242.

^b Burk, ii. 94; Hening's Stat., i. 371; Bancroft, i. 241.

^c Dr. Robertson, in Am., i. 421. The antidote may be read in He-

ments are wholly false and unfounded. Neither the Parliament nor Cromwell ever appointed a governor for the colony. This officer was invariably elected by the Assembly; and it is remarkable that in one case, at least, this body exercised the power of *removing* a governor previously elected.^a The ordinance of 1650 was in effect repealed by the articles agreed upon in 1652; and we find few complaints made by the colonists concerning commercial tyranny exercised by the Protector. (1653, July 12.) We have on record a single instance of a ship and her equipage being declared forfeited under the navigation laws; but the bill of sale conveying her to the purchaser, is signed not only by the Governor, but by the Speaker and Clerk of the House of Burgesses, from which we infer that her captain or owners had been guilty of some plain violation of public policy, and the sentence of forfeiture was considered righteous and salutary.^b

The Rappahannoc Indians had always been distinguished for their bravery and their inveterate hatred of the whites. Finding them still unsubdued and dangerous, the Assembly passed an act providing for hostilities, and directing the counties

ning, i. 526, in note; and Bancroft, i. 241, 242; even in Burk, ii. 115.

^a Hening, i. 502. To exhibit clearly their rights, the Assembly declared all former elections of Governor and Council to be null and void; thereby, of course, virtually removing all these officers. They

then re-elected Matthews governor. Bancroft, i. 244.

^b This ship was the *Leopoldus*, of Dunkirk. The act of Assembly, and accompanying bill of sale to Lieut. Col. Walter Chiles, may be seen in Hening, i. 382, 383; Burk, ii. 97, 98.

of Northumberland, Lancaster, and Westmoreland, to raise an armed force and march against the common foe. We have no authentic account of the conflict, but we have a fact pregnant with proof that the savages met their usual fate and were entirely overthrown. The next year we find in the public records the county of Rappahannoc added to those that were already enrolled.^a The natives had been subdued. Many of them doubtless perished in the contest. Many retired with sullen resolution to the west, and the few that remained could offer no serious resistance to the progress of civilized life.

(1655.) Notwithstanding their continued enmity, we find the General Assembly of each year growing more humane and compassionate in their treatment of the unhappy Indians. Could these wild beings have submitted to the healthful restraints of civil government, they might have been happy and respected. Laws were enacted for their special benefit. Rewards were offered to encourage them in assuming even the forms of civilization. For eight wolves' heads brought in by the Indians, their chief man was to receive a cow. They were urged to acquire private property, and provision was made for educating their children if they would entrust them to the whites.^b No one can read the recitals and acts of this Assembly, without being impressed with the conviction, that they sincerely desired to render the most important service to

^a Henning's Stat. at Large, i. 389, 427; Burk, ii. 102.

^b Henning, i. 393, 396; Burk's Va., ii. 103, in note.

their savage neighbours. But it was all in vain. The red man preferred his life of independence and indolence, with all its miseries, to the healthful labour and real comforts of civilized society.

The eastern counties of Virginia were now in great measure relieved from fear of Indian aggression. But in the midst of their tranquillity, a report reached the Assembly that six or seven hundred savages from the mountains had poured down in a body upon the upper waters of the James, and threatened to establish themselves in strongholds near the falls. To permit this lodgment would have been highly imprudent and dangerous. These savages were known as the Rechaecrians; and they were eminent in valour, in subtilty, in determined hatred of the settlers. From their lurking-places around the falls, they might, by a sudden sally, sweep with ruin all the neighbouring settlements. The Assembly instantly resolved to dislodge them. Colonel Edward Hill was sent with a force of one hundred men, and the friendly tribes on the York and Pamunky Rivers were called upon to aid him. It is believed that the mountain horde made a desperate resistance; many of the Pamunky tribe were slain, and among them fell their gallant chief Totopotomoi, who had long been remarkable for his friendly intercourse with the colonists.^a (1656.) It seems probable that some unhappy management occasioned a serious disaster to the whites, and that the Rechaecrians were

^a Burk, ii. 107. The act calling on the Indians for the aid they had promised, may be found in Hening, i. 403.

not at this time totally overthrown; for Colonel Edward Hill was afterwards cashiered and threatened with fine for his conduct in the affair;^a and these Indians were probably among those who acted a part in the memorable wars of Nathaniel Bacon.

In 1656, Bennett was succeeded in the office of governor by Edward Digges, who had long been a valued member of the Council. Those who have asserted that the rule of Cromwell in Virginia was harsh and oppressive,^b would find their theory not easily reconciled with known facts during this period. The very men whom the Assembly chose as their governors, were also employed to represent the interests of the colony with the Protector in England. Had they been the creatures of Cromwell, and employed by him in enforcing hated laws, they would hardly have been elected by the colonial Assembly to sustain their rights in a contest with Maryland.^c Whatever may have been the designs^d of the extraordinary man who now grasped the helm of English affairs, it is certain that he carried into execution no plan which af-

^a Hening, i. 423, 424; Burk, ii. 106, 107.

^b Beverley greatly distinguishes himself by charges against Cromwell, of which the malice can only be neutralized by their stupidity, 52, 53. Keith is not quite so censorious, but he adopts even a greater error, in attempting to defend the policy of the navigation laws, under the belief that they were invented, or at least

enforced, by the Protector, 148, 149. Both of these writers assert that Oliver appointed and changed the governors Bennett, Digges, and Matthews, which is false.

^c Burk's Va., ii. 112, 113.

^d There is reason to believe he *had* designs with regard to Virginia which were never carried into effect. Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 104, 105, in note.

fects the colonies unfavourably. Their representative government remained in full force, elected and removed officers at its pleasure, passed laws of the utmost importance, extended the right of suffrage to every freeman who paid taxes,^a declared war and peace, inflicted fines, announced its own privileges with a spirit worthy of the days of John Hampden, and in all things proved itself equal to the task of governing a prosperous and growing people. In 1658, Samuel Matthews was elected governor. He was "a worthy old gentleman, a planter of near forty years standing,"^b and had already been entrusted with important duties by the Assembly. But though a lover of liberty himself, and devoted to the true interests of the colony, the venerable governor had evidently too exalted an opinion of his own privileges. This session of the Assembly was eminent for the ability of the members, the importance of their acts, and the noble principles of freedom to which they gave expression.^c After passing many laws for the ge-

^a Hening, i. 403; Burk, ii. 107, by American visions of the nineteenth century. See Hening, i. 429, 111, with due discussion.

^b Bancroft, i. 243, quoting from 431.
ii. Mass. Hist., Collec. ix. 119.

^c Mr. Burk had no MS. records of the periods from 1656 to 1660, ii. 118, but in subsequent years rich materials have been found, of which Mr. Hening has availed himself. I have thought it not amiss to give here the names of men composing an assembly which asserted principles of liberty, not exceeded even

MEMBERS.

Henrico.

Major William Harris.

James City.

Mr. Henry Seane,

Major Richard Webster,

Mr. Thomas Loveinge,

Mr. William Corker.

Surry.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Swarm,

neral welfare of the colony, they declared that it was the right of the House of Burgesses to discuss, *first and alone*, any measure proposed for enactment. This change rendered their power of legislation absolute, for it took away from the Governor and Council all authority to introduce bills, or to act effectively upon them when introduced.^a

The worthy chief magistrate took fire at this act, and in the first impetus of his wrath, adopted the kingly measure of declaring the Assembly to be dissolved. But he found his proclamation to be of small force against the calm republicanism that pervaded this body. They instantly sent him a

Mr. William Edwards,
Major William Butler,
Capt. William Cawfeild.

New Kent.

William Blacky.

Gloster.

Lieut. Col. Anth. Elliott,

Capt. Thomas Ramsey.

Rappahannoc.

Mr. Thomas Lucar.

Lancaster.

Col. John Carter,

Mr. Peter Montague.

Isle of Wight.

Major John Bond,

Mr. Thomas Tabenor,

Mr. John Brewer,

Mr. Joseph Bridger.

Charles City.

Mr. William Horsmenden,

Capt. Robert Wynne.

Upper Norfolk.

Left. Col. Edward Carter,

Mr. Thomas Francis,

Mr. Giles Webb.

Lower Norfolk.

Col. John Sidney,

Major Lemuell Masonn.

Elizabeth City.

Major William,

Mr. John Powell.

Warwick.

John Smith, Speaker,

Thomas Davis.

Yorke.

Mr. Jeremy Hain,

Mr. Robert Borne.

Northumberland.

Mr. Peter Knight,

Mr. John Haney.

Northampton.

Mr. William Kendall,

Mr. William Mellinge,

Capt. William Michell,

Mr. Randall Revell,

Mr. John Willcox.

^a Hening, i. 499, Baneroft, i. 243.

message, denying the power of the Governor and Council to dissolve them, and then having forbidden any member to depart, they went into secret session. The Governor became alarmed, and finally withdrew his message for dissolving them, but reserved the question of right to be decided by the Protector. But this did not satisfy the Burgesses. By way of showing what their power really was, they pronounced all former elections of governor and council void and null, and having thus reduced these high functionaries to private life, they condescended to invest old Samuel Matthews with his office for a renewed term of years.^a The dispute was ended in a moment. We hear of no more dissolving of Assemblies. The representatives of the people had signally triumphed; and we may now say that every power that government could exercise was wielded by their hands.

Tranquillity and content universally prevailed. When Oliver Cromwell descended to his grave, no outburst of popular joy, no attempt to cast off a hated yoke, can be discerned. The amiable but inconsistent son of the Protector, was proposed and deliberately recognised by the Assembly, as invested with all the rights of his father,^b and had Richard Cromwell possessed the talents of a sovereign, England and Virginia would long have remained under his rule. But his mild spirit shrank from the perils of a station, perhaps the most dangerous

^a Hening, i. 499-503; Bancroft, and Council in England, and the de-
i. 243, 244. See ante, page 305, liberations of the Assembly, are in
note. Hening, i. 509-511. They are wor-

^b The letters from the President thy of attentive notice.

then in the world. (April 22.) He yielded up the dominion he had so lately assumed, and retired to the repose of private life. England was threatened with anarchy, and Virginia felt the feeble undulations of a storm which menaced the mother country with ruin. (1660.) At this critical time Samuel Matthews died. Who shall be his successor? This was a question of heavy import to their safety, and the Assembly seem to have acted with a prescience sometimes granted to men placed in circumstances of difficulty and hazard. No tumult was raised, no excited feeling prevailed, no royal standard was thrown abroad to announce that Charles the Second was King of Virginia.^a All that has been written and spoken and believed on this subject, will vanish before the light of truth. Sir William Berkeley was still in the colony. Beloved by his friends and respected by the Assem-

^a Mr. Burk is in general accurate in his views of this period; but from want of the definite information since furnished, he hazards the conjecture that Sir William Berkeley was proclaimed governor by "a tumultuous assemblage of cavaliers and aristocrats, without the agency of the Assembly," ii. 119. Grahame, i. 103, seems to have adopted this view. Beverley, 54, is probably entitled to the honour of having originated the fiction concerning the proclaiming of Charles II. King of England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and Virginia, before he was restored to the throne. He is followed by Keith, 147; Robertson, i. 421; Marshall, i. 69; Campbell, 255, 256; Oldmixon, i. 377; Grimshaw, 37; Gordon, i. 52. The original records in Henning refute the error, and Mr. Bancroft has given a fair statement of the facts, i. 245, 246. The author of the Outline in Howe, 67, adopts this correction; yet, with remarkable inconsistency, Mr. Howe afterwards admits into his book all the errors of prior historians, in the article from the "Savannah Georgian," purporting to explain the title of the "Old Dominion," so often applied to Virginia. See pages 131-133.

bly, he had remained in rural quietude. His comfort and his interests had been the subject of special legislation, and his love to the King had never subjected him to danger. To him the Assembly now turned their eyes, and on the 13th day of March, by a decisive vote, they tendered to him the office of Governor of Virginia.^a It was immediately accepted, without condition or compromise. Whatever may have been Berkeley's hopes, he required no oath of allegiance to the King, from the men who had placed him at the head of their affairs. At this very session we note an act denouncing a penalty against any one speaking in derogation of the existing government.^b But the mind of England was soon relieved from its terrible suspense. Monk threw off the mask of mystery which for months he had worn, and on the 29th of April, 1660, Charles the Second ascended the throne, left vacant eleven years before by the death of his unfortunate sire.

^a Hening, i. 530, Act ii., Sess. 1659 ^b Act iv. Sess. 1659-60; Hening, -60; Bancroft, i. 245; Outline, in i. 531.
Howe's Hist. Collec., 67.

CHAPTER VI.

Joy of the colonists because of the Restoration—Their folly—Quakers in America—Laws against them—New commission from the King to Berkeley—Navigation laws enacted by the English Parliament—Their oppressive influence in Virginia—An Assembly of royalists—Conspiracy of the Oliverians—Promptly crushed by the governor—Grant of Charles to Culpeper and Arlington—Assembly in vain seeks redress—Expedition of Captain Batte—Grievances of the colony—General discontent—Indian murders—Nathaniel Bacon—His character—He is chosen by the people to lead them against the Indians—Asks a commission from the governor, which is not granted—Marches against the savages—A new Assembly—Bacon is made captive—He is released—Laws of a free legislature—Berkeley still refuses a commission—Bacon's conduct—Governor leaves Jamestown—Rebellion—Berkeley flies to Accomac—Meeting of Virginians at Middle Plantation—Bacon marches against the Indians—Battle of Bloody Run—Bland and Carver—Berkeley again in Jamestown—Advance of the insurgents—Conflict—Defeat of the royalists—Jamestown burned by Bacon—His successes—His death—Despondency of the insurgents—Execution of Thomas Hansford—Of Wilford—Of William Drummond—Martial law—Trial by jury—Execution of Giles Bland—Death of Lawrence—Berkeley's threat for revenge—Assembly interferes—Death of Sir William Berkeley—Virginia before and after the rebellion.

WHEN the restoration of Charles II. was publicly announced in the Virginia colony, it excited emotions of triumph and joy in many bosoms.^a Long-cherished prejudices cannot be changed by momentary thought. The dominion of the Commonwealth had been a season of peace, of freedom,

^a Burk, ii. 123; Campbell, 67; Bancroft, ii. 196.

and of prosperity to the colonists, with which nothing they had before enjoyed could be compared. Their Assemblies had been regularly elected by the people; had made laws suggested by their own wisdom; had chosen every important officer of the government, and, when necessary, had displaced him; their trade had been scarcely interrupted; their population had so rapidly increased that, in 1660, it is said to have numbered thirty thousand souls.^a It had been happy for Virginia had monarchy never again reared its head in England. Innumerable oppressions, a civil war, and scenes of blood, would all have been spared. But the Deity willed that she should again groan beneath the yoke, in order, it may be, to render her final deliverance more signal.

While Charles was wandering in exile, many of his adherents had taken refuge in the colony which had shown so loyal a spirit in the trying hour. The number of true cavaliers greatly increased during the eight years prior to the Restoration, and these naturally infused their sentiments into the minds of all who would hear them.

The wealthy planters on the rivers retained their early prepossessions for monarchy; and the great body of the people, ignorant of their own true interests, prejudiced against dissenters, and attracted by glittering forms, joined in the cry of pleasure which hailed the return of the king's dominion. They little anticipated the evils which awaited

^a Gordon's *America*, i. 53; Marshall's *Colon*. i. 69.

them. In reflecting on their folly, we are forcibly reminded of the fable of antiquity ; and it will not be a violation of the laws of good taste, to compare the Virginians to the unhappy denizens of the marsh, who despised the passive log that Jove first gave them as a king, only to be devoured, at last, by the monster that succeeded. Had the colonists been under the rule of reason, rather than of blind caprice, they would never have rejoiced in the restoration of a governor who knew no will but his sovereign's ; of a Parliament, disposed to fetter the commerce of all other people with chains exported from England ; and of a monarch, odious for his personal vices, and thoroughly contemptible in his public ministrations.

No occupant of the English throne ever embodied so many disgraceful qualities as did Charles the Second. John was weak, cruel, and cowardly ; Henry Eighth was arbitrary and voluptuous ; Mary was bigoted and relentless ; James was pedantic and timid ; but Charles, with individual traits perhaps less imposing than any of these, went far beyond them in his complete development. His private life was a tissue of the most artful meanness, and of the darkest profligacy. By his own example, he corrupted a court which, before him, had been less impure than that of any of the more splendid kingdoms of Europe. Professing a regard for freedom, he signed the death-warrant of Algernon Sidney ; holding out promises of general pardon, he sent many republi-

cans to the scaffold;^a taking an oath to support the Protestant church of England, he was secretly a Papist; and, in the hour of death, hoped to find, in the sacrament administered by a popish priest, an atonement for the enormities of a misspent life.^b

His name will ever be associated, in Scotland, with the ideas of persecution and bloodshed. He loved foul pleasure, and hated business. He humoured his Parliaments with the hope of getting money; and sold the honour of his country for the means of gratifying his own selfish desires. From the reign of such a man, neither England nor her distant colonies could hope for quiet and happiness.

Immediately after the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, and before the news of the restoration could have reached the colonies, we note a change in the liberal spirit that had pervaded Virginia for several years then past. The demon of religious persecution was awakened from his stupor and urged to active exercise. A new sect had, some time before, appeared in the world, upon whom the name of Quakers had been bestowed, because of their contortions of body under the influence of powerful mental excitement. Neither their creed nor their practice was more dangerous to the peace of society, than many other follies which had passed unmolested. The inward light in which they believed, was never so brilliant as

^a The reader may consult even Hume, v. 402-405; but he will find Charles more accurately sketched by Macaulay.

^b Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* i. 2, page 6; Hume, ii. 606, edit. 1832.

to illumine the path of ambitious hope. The movings of the spirit they professed to feel had never prompted them to popular tumult; if they abhorred war, this would not render them the worse citizens; if they rejected forms and sacraments, they did not therefore become rebels and outlaws. But upon their first appearance, it is certain that they were distinguished by certain extravagances, and even indecencies, which naturally made them objects of popular odium. These have long since disappeared, and the Quakers have become eminent for the propriety of their demeanour, the rigid morality of their lives, and their attention to the duties of the best and wisest citizens; but we may not, therefore, forget the cause they originally furnished for the harsh measures adopted towards them. In Massachusetts, in 1658, a furious fanatic of this sect, named Fanlord, under the influence of religious frenzy, was preparing to shed the blood of his own son, when the cries of the unhappy boy attracted neighbours, who arrested the arm of this uncalled Abraham.^a Another deranged Jeremiah burst in upon an assembled congregation, and striking violently together two bottles held in his hands, shattered them in fragments, crying out, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces."^b A certain lady, of the Quaker persuasion, having decorated her face with a thick stratum of coal dust, exhibited herself to many amazed beholders as a sign of some hideous disease, which she declared

^a *Grahame's Colon. Hist.* i. 306.

^b *Ibid.* i. 307.

was soon to assail all unbelievers.^a Another female saint entered a church in the midst of divine worship, in a state of perfect nudity, and exhorted the people to give heed to her as a sign of the naked condition of their own unhappy souls!^b A similar exhibition took place in the streets of Salem;^c and it has even been asserted, that in the close of the eighteenth century, a Quaker walked naked during several days, through the streets of Richmond, as a *sign of the times*.^d Such fanatics fell properly within the cognizance of police laws, and had they received salutary flagellation, instead of hanging or the burning of their tongues with heated iron, none could have complained.

Early in the session of 1660, the Assembly passed a stern law against the Quakers, reciting them as “an unreasonable and turbulent sort of people,” who taught and published “lies, miracles, false visions, prophecies, and doctrines,” to the great disturbance of religion and order. The statute forbids any master or commander of a vessel, under a heavy penalty, to bring any of this hated sect into the colony; requires that all Quakers, upon detection, should be imprisoned without bail, until they took an oath to leave the country, and gave security that they would never return; and enacts, that any Quaker returning the second time,

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 307; i. 461. At the next court for Salem, this lady was, with great propriety, adjudged worthy of stripes.

^b Grahame, i. 307; Bancroft, i. 454.

^d Note ix., Grahame's Colon. Hist.,

^c Note ix., Grahame's Colon Hist., i. 461.

should be punished as a despiser of the laws, and forced again to depart; and should he return the third time, he was to be treated as a felon.^a All persons were forbidden to give them countenance; all officers were to note the laws against them; and the circulation of their books and pamphlets was rigidly proscribed.

It is vain to attempt to defend these laws. They do, indeed, flow necessarily from the principles of an ecclesiastical establishment; but they embody the worst forms of intolerance, and, if fully developed, their policy would destroy all religious freedom. Yet it is consoling to believe, that no actual cruelty or oppression resulted from these harsh enactments. The most striking example of their exercise occurred in 1663, when John Porter, a burgess elect, from Lower Norfolk County, was charged with "being loving to the Quakers, and attending their meetings." He frankly confessed that he admired the sect, and revered the mildness of their doctrines and the purity of their lives. The Assembly, upon this, did not immediately condemn him, but tendered to him the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. He refused to take them, and was formally expelled by a vote of the legislative body.^b In reading this account, we cannot fail to perceive that John Porter was expelled, rather for refusing to acknowledge his obli-

^a Hening, i. 533, Act vi. The act does not say, a felon without benefit of clergy, from which it seems probable that death was not intended.

^b Burk's Va., ii. 132, with accompanying comments; Hening's Stat. at Large, ii. 198, September 12, 1663; Hawks's Eccle. Hist. Va., 71.

gations to the King and his government, than for loving the despised sect whose doctrines he had imbibed.

When Charles felt himself firmly seated on the throne, he sent to his staunch friend, Sir William Berkeley, a new commission as governor, and some royal advice as to the proper mode of conducting the affairs of the colony. He counsels him to attend diligently to the establishment of religion, to enforce the use of the prayer book, and to provide a competent support for ministers. He requires that a new code shall be prepared, from which all laws derogatory to a monarchical government shall be expurgated; urges the governor and people to build houses and settle towns, in imitation of New England; directs their thoughts to flax, pitch, hemp, and silk, and informs them that he had worn, on his own majestic person, some silk of Virginian growth, and found it not inferior to that raised in other countries.^a The King farther promises his aid in establishing iron works in the colony; offers to send over judges to administer law, provided the people would pay their salaries; and advises a conference with Maryland on the subject of planting tobacco. He directs Sir William Berkeley to summon an Assembly as early as

^a Beverley, 57, mentions a tradition that the King at his coronation wore a robe of silk from Virginia. Grahame adopts this story, i. 105, in note. He cites Oldmixon, an author curious to find Beverley and Oldmixon agreeing in any thing: they had a cordial contempt each for the other. Read Beverley's Preface. Mr. Burk does not seem to believe the full of ridiculous falsehoods. It is above story, ii. 125.

possible, and gives him permission to return for a season to England, when he shall think proper so to do.^a

Buoyed up by unfounded hope and short-lived joy, the colonists went cheerfully on their way; but a melancholy reverse soon afflicted them. In the first session of Parliament after Charles ascended the throne, were passed the celebrated "Navigation Laws" of England, giving full effect to a policy which had already been threatened by previous rulers. These laws have had both their advocates and their enemies. On the one hand, they have been vaunted as presenting in themselves a perfect embodiment of political and commercial wisdom, and on the other, they have been decried as unjust and impolitic, oppressive to colonists and injurious to the mother country. This controversy may now be considered as settled. The wisest of England's instructors have taught her a lesson, hard to learn, yet not easily to be forgotten. They have demonstrated, that the nation that shall deliberately place fetters upon commerce, will, after a season, suffer from her own harshness. To force the products of a colony into the bosom of the mother country, will render such dependencies discontented and unhappy; will give to the mother herself the character of a cruel and selfish step-

^a Burk, ii. 124-126. Grahame says, by this commission trials by jury were restored, which had been discontinued for some years, i. 106. I find no evidence to sustain either of these statements. The instructions of the King may be seen reflected in the laws passed by the Assembly of 1660-61, contained in Hening, ii. 17-32.

dame, and will make other nations rejoice in the misery of both.^a A monopoly of colonial trade will, after a season, diminish the strength of all parties concerned : of the colony, by confining her energies to a single market ; of the mother country, by enfeebling the demand of foreign nations, and consequently the supply made in the colonies, and thus enhancing the price to her own people, and of the rest of the commercial world, by cutting off some of their motives for exertion.

But the Parliament of Charles II. were tempted by the hope of immediate gain. Their Navigation Laws provided, that no commodities should be imported into, or exported from, any English settlements in Asia, Africa, or America, except in vessels built in England, or in her colonies, and navigated by crews of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners shall be English subjects ; and this was under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo ; that no persons other than natural born subjects, or such as have been naturalized, shall be merchants or factors in any British colonies, upon pain of forfeiting their goods and merchandise ; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods for dyeing, should be exported from the colonies to any country except England ; and, to make

^a Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, edit. 1818, i. 325, 326, ii. 82-85. Adam Smith finds but one argument in favour of the Navigation Laws, the increase they are *supposed* to produce in sailors and shipping for national defence. Their efficacy even for this end is doubtful ; and his arguments *against* them are overwhelming. Grahame's *Col. Hist.* i. 110-112.

this clause secure, a bond for its observance was to be exacted from all owners of vessels trading from the settlements.^a These *enumerated articles*, as they were called, were gradually extended, until the list embraced every commodity that could be produced by colonial industry. In 1663, the navigation law was extended, by forbidding that any European article should be imported into the colonies, unless shipped *in England*, and in vessels built and manned according to the requirements of the previous law.^b And finally, in 1672, the topmost stone was laid upon the column of oppression. The colonies had been theretofore free in their trade with each other, but in this year it was enacted that, in shipping these enumerated articles from colony to colony, the same tax should be paid as was imposed upon the consumers in England.^c

A more complete system of commercial oppression could hardly be conceived. The colonists were at once cut off from all foreign markets, and shut up to the prices which English consumers might think proper to pay; and they were compelled to send their produce in English vessels, manned by English seamen, and commanded by English masters. They were denied even the poor privilege of domestic traffic without customs. A tax met them at every outlet and avenue. Whether they imported or exported, bought or sold, they

^a 12 Car. II., cap. xviii., and in Robertson's America, i. 422; Grahame's Colon. Hist., i. 107, 108.

^b 15 Car. II., c. vii.; Robertson, i. 422; Grahame, i. 108.

^c 25 Car. II., c. vii.; Robertson's Am., i. 422; Grahame, i. 109.

were taxed. Even their tobacco, of which the whole burden should have been borne by the consumer, was laden in the port of shipment and in the port of sale with a duty so onerous that the planter endured its heaviest weight, and could scarcely realize from his crop enough to furnish clothes for his family.^a Yet, to justify this oppression, the British Parliament could urge no better reason, than that the colonies, having been settled and supported by England, were to be so used as best to promote her manufacturing and commercial interests!^b

(1661, March.) The laws had not been in effect long in Virginia ere their sinister influence began to manifest itself. Still hoping against hope, and unwilling to believe that their sovereign and his government intended to trample them in the dust, the General Assembly commissioned Sir William Berkeley, on his visit to England, to attend specially to their interests, and to endeavour to procure for them more favourable laws. They could not have selected a worse agent. The old cavalier left the colony about the 30th April, 1661, and returned in the close of November, 1662. He had feasted his eyes with the sight of royalty, had obtained some privileges valuable to himself, but had not secured one right to the colony, or averted from her head one stroke of commercial violence.^c It is

^a Grahame's Col. Hist., i. 107; Laws, and uses much lame reasoning to support them, 148-152; and in Burk's Va., ii. 133.

^b Robertson's Am., i. 422, citing the Introduction, passim.

Act 15, Car. II. Sir William Keith highly approves of the Navigation ^c Hening, ii. 7, 17; Bancroft, ii. 198.

doubtful whether he even sought any change in these fatal laws.

The Assembly manifested every disposition to submit to the rule of the mother country, while that rule could be tolerated. The price of tobacco was already so low that the most substantial planters were in great distress; and in order to keep the country from being overwhelmed in debt, a law was passed forbidding the importation of unnecessary articles, among which we find enumerated "strong drink, silk stuffe in garments or in pieces, gold and silver lace, and ribbands inwrought with gold and silver."^a A Spartan simplicity in dress and manners was thus encouraged, but such laws availed but little to check the rise of discontent and just indignation among the high-minded people of Virginia.

The Assembly which convened in 1662, was composed principally of landholders and cavaliers. The people were willing to prove their devotion to the King, by electing a body of royalists whose love for monarchy was hardly neutralized by their fondness for freedom. Their legislation partook of their character. A new body of laws was compiled; and the Assembly, in adopting it, declared that all acts not in this collection were "to all intents and purposes utterly abrogated and repealed."^b Among these former acts was one requiring the elections of Burgesses for the Assembly to be once in two years.^c An able historian has considered

^a Hening, ii. 18, Act. ii., Session 1660-61.

^b Hening, ii. 43.

^c *Ib.*, i. 517.

this act as repealed by the above-mentioned sweeping clause;^a but there is reason to believe that the legislature did not intend that its operation should be so extensive. Their design was simply to provide a new code of general jurisprudence for the people, in place of the one theretofore existing, and not to destroy all the rules by which their own constitution had previously been regulated. From his view of this clause, the same writer has drawn the belief, that this Assembly, from being biennial, became permanent, depended no longer upon the people, but retained its existence for many years, until it was finally burst asunder by a rebellion.^b But we have satisfactory evidence that elections were held up to the year 1666;^c though, after that time, the same body of men continued, without reference to popular will, to hold the reins of government, until they were driven from their places by an explosion too violent to be longer resisted.

The price of tobacco had fallen so low that the planters were threatened with ruin, and some remedy seemed indispensable. A meeting of commissioners from Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia, was held at Wicomocomo to arrange a commercial treaty. It was agreed that in the succeeding year no tobacco should be planted in either

^a Bancroft, ii. 205.

^b Bancroft, ii. 205. There is strong reason for Mr. Bancroft's opinion in the fact that the same Assembly was adjourned or prorogued from 1666 to 1675; but the law to which he refers in Hening, ii. 211, 212, was, I ap-

prehend, passed when elections by the people were still in use.

^c Compare Hening, ii. 196, 197, Sess. 1663, with ii. 249, 250, Sess. 1666. The names of the Burgesses will be found to be entirely different.

colony, after the 20th day of June.^a (1663.) Had this contract been rigidly observed, it might have enhanced the price of the staple, and gradually relieved the planters; but Maryland soon abandoned the league, and Virginia immediately permitted her citizens to plant as much as they pleased.^b

Causes of discontent were daily increasing, in number and in weight. At length they began openly to show their influence. A general feeling of uneasiness and disappointment pervaded a people who had received a governor and a king, only to be mocked and oppressed. In the colony at this time were many soldiers who had served under Cromwell, and who, from him, had imbibed a cordial hatred of kings, a prepossession for Puritanism, and a thorough contempt for the Church of England in all her forms. These men eagerly fanned the flames of discontent already rising; they had but too much reason for their complaints, and found many to sympathize in their desire for relief. Secretly and with skill, a formidable insurrection was organized; conflicting materials were brought together, and arrayed in opposition to powers hated by all. So profound was their concealment, that not one hint of the design escaped before the evening preceding the day for the intended stroke. Then, a soldier, named Berkenhead, who had been one of the conspirators, moved by remorse or by cowardice, revealed the plot, and urged instant measures for its defeat.

^a Burk, ii. 134.

^b Hening, ii. 202, Sess. 1663.

(Sept. 13.) The governor's conduct was prompt and decided. He issued private orders that an ample force of militia should meet at the place of rendezvous *before* the time appointed by the insurgents. His directions were obeyed. As fast as they appeared, the hapless conspirators were seized and disarmed. Many of them caught the alarm, and made their escape. Four of the worst were speedily hanged; and the intended plot was arrested, ere its actors could discover the cause of their discomfiture.^a

The soldiers were all servants, sent over from England to labour in the colony. Their sturdy republicanism, and perhaps their morose tempers, rendered them ungrateful to the mother country; and, with her accustomed policy, she sent them to be improved by the air of Virginia. Berkenhead was the servant of a Mr. Smith, of Gloucester County, and, in reward for his services, the Assembly voted him his freedom, and five thousand pounds of tobacco.^b The recollection of this desperate plot was long fresh in the memories of the settlers. In 1670, we find an order of Council, regularly entered, complaining of the practice of sending convicts and abandoned persons to the colony, who "deserve to dye in England;" referring to this conspiracy of 1663, and denouncing stern penalties against any commanders of vessels

^a Beverley, 58; Keith, almost verbatim from Beverley, 151; Burk, ii. 135, 136; Grahame, i. 114; Oldmixon, i. 379.

^b Hening, ii. 204; Beverley, 58, says he received two hundred pounds sterling; so saith Keith, 151; Burk, ii. 137.

who should in future bring such wretches to Virginia, to degrade her character and stain her reputation.^a

When news of the "Oliverian Plot" reached England, Charles ordered that forts should be constructed in the colony, and that Jamestown should be additionally fortified; but these orders were but partially observed. The people of Virginia were as jealous of towns as the King was fond. He regarded them as nurseries of loyalty, and the colonists considered them as fit engines for executing the odious laws for navigation.

The defeat of a conspiracy did not remove the permanent evils under which the settlers were labouring. Several years passed away, and yet no softening of the policy of England had occurred. Various attempts to evade the laws had been entered upon. At one time, a profitable traffic with the Dutch of New York was opened; but the English system was rigidly enforced, and Virginia soon found that she was closely watched by her selfish and unfeeling mother. Her own Assembly was no longer composed of men who loved equal justice, and guarded the interests of the people. (1666, Nov. 9.) They protected their own rights indeed, and refused to permit either the Governor or his Council to join them in deciding upon the public levy;^b but they restricted the right of suffrage, which had before been exercised by all free-

^a Extract from Records of Gen. afterwards "Newgate-birds."—Outline, in Hening, ii. 509–511. These persons are called "jail-birds," and line, in Howe, 70.
^b Burk, ii. 145; Hening, ii. 254.

men, and confined it to "freeholders and house-keepers;"^a thus excluding a large number of useful and intelligent voters. But the full weight of royal power was yet to be felt.

As early as 1649, immediately after the execution of Charles I., a grant of the northern neck of Virginia, embracing all the country between Potomac and Rappahannoc Rivers, had been made to a company of cavaliers, who designed to settle upon it.^b This grant was never acted upon, and was finally recalled. But nine years after the restoration, Charles II. determined to exercise his kingly liberality, in giving away that which belonged not to him. He was but a highwayman at heart, and had he occupied a more humble station, it is not improbable that his total disregard of the rights of his fellow-men, would have finally conducted him to a gibbet. (1669.) By letters patent, regularly executed and issued, he gave away the whole of Virginia, with her land and water, her fields and forests, her mountains, swamps, harbours, and creeks, for the full period of thirty-one years, unto two of his favourites, to wit: Thomas, Lord Culpeper, and Henry, Earl of Arlington, and to their executors, administrators, and assigns.^c The first of these grantees was a man of good sense, but exceedingly subtle and covetous; the last, bears a name but too well known as one of the renowned "Cabal," who introduced a new word into our

^a Act iii., Sess. 1670, Hening, ii. 280; Bancroft, ii. 208.

^b Bancroft, ii. 209.

^c Behold the full patent, in Hening, ii. 569-578; Bancroft, ii. 210; Outline, in Howe, 71.

language, and a new science into our round of knowledge. He was smooth, polite, well-bred in the extreme, but he loved low pleasure almost as much as his sovereign, and even exceeded him in studied forgetfulness of his overwhelming debts.^a

(1674.) When this grant was openly promulgated in the colony, both people and Assembly were stricken with astonishment and alarm. The King had at length touched a nerve which caused even his most loyal servants of the settlement to shudder with suffering. Upon the faith of previous charters, they had occupied land, and had devoted to it assiduous labour. Industry had reclaimed fertile fields from the forest, and forty thousand inhabitants now held lands which were thus deliberately wrested from them by the King, and turned over to his grasping minions. What burthen, in the shape of yearly and quit-rents, services, manor duties, tithes upon advowsons, market customs, and other imposts, these men might inflict upon them, was uncertain, but the letters patent were ample enough to justify these, and many other exactions.^b

Immediately the Assembly resolved to seek redress. They appointed three commissioners, Thomas Ludwell, Secretary of State, Francis Morrison, and Robert Smith; and, having provided for their support by a heavy tax upon the colony, they sent them to England to implore the King to recall his

^a Read Bancroft, ii. 209, and his well to read the patent, Hening, ii., authorities; Appendix, in Burk, ii. 9. particularly on pages 572, 574, 575,

^b Those who doubt this would do 576.

grant, or else, they were to endeavour to effect a compromise with Culpeper and Arlington.^a The result of this embassy was what might have been expected. The commissioners wholly failed in inducing the despicable being who occupied the English throne to withdraw his letters patent, as improvidently issued; and, after protracted negotiations with the patentees, they obtained terms little favourable to the interests of the settlers. Their application for a new charter was equally fruitless. It has been said that one was prepared; but it was stopped in its passage through the *Hamper Office*, and was at length wholly suppressed.^b

The grievances of the colonists had now nearly reached their zenith. The storm was ready to descend; but, ere we proceed to describe it, we must speak of an undertaking apparently remote from popular movements, yet in reality connected with the immediate cause of their outburst. Designing to explore the country more fully, Sir William Berkeley sent Captain Henry Batte with a brave company, consisting of fourteen Englishmen, and as many Indians, to penetrate as far as possible to the southward and westward, and make such discoveries and observations as were practicable. Setting out from Appamatox, this small party, in seven days, reached the foot of the mountains. Those first encountered were

^a Burk, ii. 143; Hening, ii. 518; Hening, ii. 531; and Remonstrance Beverley, 65; Keith, 155. against Stoppage of Charter, 535-

^b Beverley, 75; Burk, ii. 152; 537.

not very lofty, but after farther progress, they came to others, which towered in majesty above them, and seemed to pierce the clouds with their summits. These mountains were often so rugged and so full of precipices, that the travellers could with difficulty make their way, and frequently a day's exertion carried them but three miles forward in a direct line. Yet ever and anon, they came upon level plains and green savannas, most refreshing to behold. Flocks of turkeys, and herds of deer, elk, and buffalo, constantly saluted them; and these creatures were so tame, that they suffered them to approach within any distance, and seemed to regard the strangers with curious interest rather than with alarm. Wild fruits of the country abounded, and among them were grapes of enormous size, which the adventurers beheld with unmixed wonder. When they had passed the lofty range of mountains, they came again upon a beautiful country, fertile and level, through which ran a rivulet that "descended backwards" from the high lands above. After some progress down this stream, they came to Indian settlements, which were deserted, and they then found themselves on the borders of extensive marshes. Here their Indian guides halted, and positively refused to go farther, declaring that but a little way in advance of them, lived powerful tribes of savages, who *made salt*, and sold it to their neighbours; and who had never suffered any strangers to return, that ventured within their formidable grasp. With great reluctance, Captain Batte was com-

pelled to retrace his steps. When he reached Jamestown, he gave to the governor so attractive a description of his achievements, that Sir William Berkeley resolved to undertake in person a similar excursion.^a But events of the highest import soon arrested his design, and turned his thoughts into a less peaceful channel.

So irritated and excitable was the public mind at this time, that slight circumstances threatened to awaken an insurrection. It would be irrational in the highest degree to suppose that the scenes of violence and blood upon which we are soon to enter, were the result of momentary agitation. Their true causes will be found deeply planted in the history of the colony during many years before they occurred; and the very fact, that the *apparent* cause has seemed inadequate, will prove, that powerful latent springs were in motion, to drive the people of Virginia into open rebellion. Let it be remembered, that, for fourteen years, they had suffered the crushing exactions of the laws passed by the Parliament which first welcomed Charles II. to the throne; that their trade

^a Beverley, 62, 63, gives the original account of this expedition. He says, "It is supposed, that in this journey, Batte did not cross the great ridge of mountains," but kept under it to the south; and speaks of marshes, corresponding to his description, which have been found between Cape Florida and the mouth of the Mississippi. Yet, after read-

ing attentively this account, it seems to me most probable that the explorers crossed the Blue Ridge; passed through the beautiful valley of Virginia; scaled the Alleghany Mountains, and penetrated nearly to the salt licks, contiguous to the Great Kanawha, or the Ohio River. Vide Burk, ii. 149-151.

had been ruined; their staple depreciated; their exports and imports alike laden with intolerable taxes. When they complained, their petitions were heard with indifference and treated with neglect. The loyal governor, whom they had once delighted to honour, had exhibited his true character; and now, when the selfishness of the King and the welfare of the colony were at war, he hesitated not to take the side of the oppressor. He drew from the people a princely revenue for his own private behests, yet he remained unsatisfied, and craved a larger allowance.^a He feared and hated the presence of learning among the colonists, knowing well that ignorance alone is submissive to oppression. His memory will for ever bear a stain induced by his own words, in reply to an inquiry of the English Council—"I thank God there are no free-schools nor printing (in Virginia), and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."^b

Can it be thought singular that this man should have forfeited the respect with which he was once honoured?

Let it be remembered, farther, that the General

^a Berkeley's permanent salary exceeded the present annual expenditure of the State of Connecticut.—Bancroft, ii. 203.

^b This was in 1671. Enquiries to

the Governor of Virginia, in Henning, ii. 517; Bancroft, ii. 192; Howe's Hist. Collec., 331; Campbell's Va., 257, 258.

Assembly was no longer a fair representation of the people. Composed of landholders and royalists, it perpetuated its own existence from year to year by adjournment. It cut down the sacred right of suffrage, and reduced it to the smallest possible compass. It raised the salaries of its own members, until each received about two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, equivalent to nearly nine dollars, for his daily emolument.^a This onerous tax was wholly borne by the people of the respective counties. Meanwhile the judiciary itself was rather dangerous than useful to the colonists. The county courts were composed of unpaid justices, commissioned by the governor, and, it seems, holding their offices during his pleasure.^b The General Court was held exclusively by the Governor and Council; and even when appeals were allowed to the Assembly, the suitors could hope for little impartiality from its royalist members. These three tribunals constituted the whole judicial system of Virginia.

But yet farther. As though with design to mock their present miseries, the King had granted away their whole territory to Culpeper and Arlington. The men who had borne the brunt of battle, the heat and burthen of the day, were now in danger of losing the reward of all their toil. Two minions of a profligate monarch might fetter their property with taxes and customs, and drink up

^a Hening, 23, 309, 325, vol. ii.; ^b Beverley, 224, 225; Hening, ii. Bancroft, ii. 206, and in note; Giles 69, 70; Bancroft, ii. 204. Bland's letter in Burk, ii. 248.

their profits by numberless exactions. Perhaps this last was the grievance most deeply felt, for it added insult to injury; it infused into the already bitter draught of parliamentary oppression, the more bitter gall of kingly ingratitude. When all these complicated ills are considered, we are not surprised that the unhappy people were driven almost to madness by their pressure. It is not wonderful that their blood should have been rendered hot by this continued stimulus, and they should have been even on the verge of open resistance.

Another cause hastened the *dénouement*. The Indians had long been practising private hostilities, and on the upper streams of York and James Rivers their strength was yet sufficient to render them dangerous. The governor had promised to send a force against them, but afterwards wholly neglected it.^a An armed band, under Sir Henry Chichely, ready to march against the enemy, was suddenly disbanded without cause.^b It has been supposed that Berkeley refrained from severe measures against the Indians, from a desire to secure to himself some of the profits of their trade; and it is certain that he rebuked with sternness, what he considered an act of perfidy on the part of the whites, towards the garrison of an Indian fortress.^d It is not impossible that the excursion of Captain Batte may have added impetus to the jealousy of

^a Bacon's Rebellion, in Force, i. 10.

^b Breviare et Conclusum, in Burk, ii. 250.

^c Bacon's Rebellion, in Force, i. 11; Bancroft, ii. 216.

^d T. M.'s Account of Bacon's Rebel., 12; Bancroft, ii. 216.

the savages; but whatever may have been the incitements, their hostile action became open and bloody. Frightful murders were almost daily perpetrated, and tortures were inflicted upon the wretched captives who fell into their hands, that are too revolting to be described.^a

Roused by these outrages, and finding that they could obtain no redress from their governor, the people of Virginia resolved to protect themselves. A large number assembled, and eagerly sought a leader ready to sympathize in their sufferings, and to guide their action. All eyes immediately fell upon a young gentleman, whose talents and manners had already enlisted attention. Nathaniel Bacon was yet in the bloom of manhood. Born of good parentage, and heir to a rich estate in the colony, he had passed several years of his life in the inns of court in London, acquiring the legal knowledge so important at that period to a legislator for Virginia. On his arrival in the colony, he was joyfully received by his friends, and in a short time he became a prominent member of the Provincial Council.^b His figure was graceful and commanding; his countenance was remarkable for manly beauty and for engaging expression; his manners were easy and natural, betraying neither the hauteur of the professed aristocrat, nor the coarseness

^a Read the account in "Indian Proceedings," 7, a valuable tract, presented by Hon. William Burwell to Mass. Hist. Soc., and afterwards published by P. Force, vol. i.

^b Allen's Am. Biog., art. Bacon. This article seems to have been furnished by Mr. Campbell. Hist. of Va., 215; Burk, ii. 159.

of the plebeian. Nature had gifted him with intellectual endowments of the highest order. His mind was capacious, yet exact; full of native energy, yet highly cultured by well-applied art. He was an orator of uncommon power. His eloquence appears to have been of that character at once impassioned and convincing, which carries away alike the feelings and the reason of the auditors, and renders them subservient to the speaker's will. He possessed dauntless courage, and he feared not to encounter any danger in the cause of freedom and of innocence.

Such was the man who now assumed the lead in the great popular movement of 1676. We can hardly attribute to him any motives other than those of patriotism and philanthropy. He had all to lose and nought to gain by a rebellion against the existing powers. In peace, his youth, his talents, his riches, would have insured to him the highest honours that his country could bestow.

(1676, April.) This young councillor had already received a provocation, urging him to decisive measures against the Indians. Upon his own lands, in the county of Henrico, two murders had been committed by the savages. His overseer and a favourite servant had fallen beneath their treachery.^a He hesitated no longer to assume the command of the forces assembled by the people of Virginia, to march against the common foe. When he saw before him the numbers who had rallied at a single

^a Bacon's Rebellion, in Force, 10; Bancroft, ii. 218.

cry, he was reminded of the wrongs they had suffered and of their power to remove them. Availing himself of that ready eloquence always at his command, he presented to his auditors, in rapid review, the grievances which had so long oppressed them. The Navigation Laws of Charles and his Parliament were a copious theme of just invective; the selfish grants of the tyrant were stigmatized as open robbery; the enormous salaries of the Governor and Burgesses, the restriction of the right of voting, the judicial abuses, the perpetuity of the legislature,—all these furnished subjects upon which a patriot orator could not be silent, and which found in the hearts of listeners a ready response.^a And finally, the Indian outrages were spoken of, and in the burst of indignation they elicited, the excited parties mutually pledged to each other an engagement not to lay down their arms until their enemies were effectually humbled.^b

In order to proceed regularly, and according to the forms of law, they made immediate application to Sir William Berkeley, humbly begging that he would grant a commission to Bacon, as commander of the forces against the Indians. A more reasonable request could not have been preferred; but the governor hesitated to comply, and his delay and his silence were alike intolerable to men whose

^a Beverley, 68; Burk, ii. 160, 161.

No authentic remnant of this speech exists; but, beyond reasonable doubt, it was delivered. See Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. i. 384.

^b Bacon's Rebellion, in Force, 10; Our Late Troubles, by Mrs. Ann Cotton, in Force, 4, 5; Bacon's Proceedings, in ditto, 10, 11.

families were hourly exposed to the tomahawk.^a Bacon instantly resolved to march without a commission; and no generous soul can censure his haste. Proceeding, by rapid movements, towards the heads of the lower rivers, he fell upon the savages, and routed them with signal success. He took many prisoners, and with the full consciousness of having done well for his suffering countrymen, he returned to his home.^b

But he had left behind him a foe worse than the savages. (May 29.) When Bacon marched with his volunteers, Sir William Berkeley, professing to be greatly incensed at his unwarranted proceedings, declared him and his followers to be rebels; and raising an armed force, set out to pursue them towards the falls. It was happy that he was not successful in overtaking the determined young leader. A conflict would have been, probably, the result; and it would have been fatal to the cavalier and the luxurious planters who formed his guard. But while in march, Berkeley received intelligence of an alarming spirit of insurrection that had shown itself in Jamestown; and immediately retracing his steps, he returned to the capital. On every side, the long-suppressed resentment of the people menaced their oppressors with ruin.

Perhaps nothing can more fully show the justice of the cause in which Bacon and his band had

^a T. M.'s account of Bacon's Rebellion, 11.

^b Burk, ii. 160; Our Late Troubles, in Force, 4.

engaged, than the conduct of the Governor and Council in this crisis. Knowing well the foundation of the people's complaints, they issued orders directing that the obnoxious forts, which had been used to enforce the Navigation Laws, should be dismantled,^a and that writs should be issued for a new election of Burgesses to the General Assembly.

The people joyfully breathed again the air of elective freedom, from which they had been so long debarred. From the county of Henrico, Nathaniel Bacon was returned a member of the Colonial Legislature,^b and corresponding changes occurred in other places. No attention was paid to the hated law restricting the right of suffrage to the freeholders of the colony. Many of the burgesses themselves were only freemen, and the dangerous powers usurped by the last Assembly seemed at once to be overthrown. But, though the Governor was compelled to yield to the blast, he was not appeased. He still cherished thoughts of revenge for the insults which he professed to have received.

As Bacon approached Jamestown, in a small sloop, utterly unprepared for hostilities, he was suddenly arrested by an armed ship, under the guns of which his frail bark was brought, and he was himself taken into custody by the High Sheriff of Jamestown, and carried into the city.^c But the

^a Breviare et Conclusum, in Burk, Appen. ii. 250; Burk's Text, ii. 165. ^c T. M.'s Account, Force, 12; Our Late Troubles, 4, 5; Bacon's Pro-

^b Bacon's Rebellion, Force, 11; Proceedings, 11. "Some being put into Breviare et Conclusum, in Burk, irons." Burk, ii. 167. Appendix, ii. 251; Bancroft, ii. 219.

Assembly convened in a short time thereafter. Already the young leader was regarded with the warmest affection by men who considered him their deliverer, not merely from Indian cruelties, but from the injustice of their own government. Berkeley could not venture long to keep such a man in confinement. With the hope of gaining a character for clemency, he released his prisoner from custody, reversed the sentence of attainder formerly pronounced against him, and restored him to his place in the Council.^a

But before Bacon would consent to give his parole, to resume his duties in Council, or to acknowledge his fault, he received from the Governor a promise that he should have a regular commission as commander of the forces against the Indians; and this was a condition precedent on which depended his own agreement. That the governor gave this promise, no reasonable doubt can exist: the fact is not only asserted by cotemporary authorities,^b but it must be taken for grant-

^a Breviare et Conclusum, Appen., Burk, ii. 251; Burk, ii. 167; Bacon's Proceedings, Force, 11.

^b Read Bacon's Proceedings, Force, 11, 12; Our Late Troubles, by Mrs. Ann Cotton, Force, 4, 5; Breviare et Conclusum, Burk's Appen. ii. 251. Beverley, 70, and Keith, 159, love Berkeley and hate Bacon too much to be trusted. Mr. Campbell is very illiberal in his whole account of the Rebellion, and tacitly does Bacon injustice by saying nothing about the governor's promise, page 76. Mr. Burk is generally enthusiastic in

his admiration of the insurgent, yet he seems unable to acquit him of the dishonour of having broken his parole, ii. 167, 168; and doubts on the point are yet entertained by generous and cultivated minds.—Letter from Charles Campbell, Esq., of Petersburg, to the author, dated April 16, 1846. But the authorities first above cited are conclusive; and even without them, I would find it impossible to impute deliberate perfidy to a character such as that of Bacon is admitted to be, 62.

ed, in order to give consistency to the conduct of the parties in the scenes which followed. (June 5.) When this agreement was made, a written paper was presented by his uncle^a to Nathaniel Bacon, who solemnly adopted it in the presence of the Council, acknowledging himself to have been guilty of many imprudences and "unwarrantable practices;" begging pardon of the governor for his offences against him; promising allegiance and true faith to the government in future; and expressing his willingness to pledge his whole estate for his subsequent good conduct. This acknowledgment was made on the 5th day of June; and immediately afterwards the newly elected Assembly commenced its labours.^b

The action of this Assembly was salutary and important. Once more we mark the infusion of the popular spirit into their laws, giving life to what would otherwise have been a dead body of enactments, displaying the presence neither of wisdom nor of liberty.^c Ecclesiastical monopolies were destroyed, by limiting vestrymen to a term of three years, and making them responsible to the free voters of each parish.^d Just levies of county

^a Nathaniel Bacon, Sen., a member of Council; note to Hening, ii. 544; T. M.'s Account, in Force, 15.

^b The acknowledgment may be read, in full, in Hening, ii. 543, 544.

^c The acts of this memorable session are generally known by the title of "Bacon's Laws." They are in Hening, ii. 341-365. To their

lasting honour be it remembered, that, though they were all repealed by special instructions from the King, yet subsequent legislatures found it necessary to revive them; and nearly all were re-enacted *under different titles*. Preface to Hening's Sta. ii. v., and page 391, in note.

^d Hening, ii. 356, Act vi.

taxes were provided for; the enormous perquisites of the Governor and Council were greatly curtailed;^a the sale of spirituous liquors throughout the country was forbidden; two unworthy magistrates were disgraced and disfranchised; and an act of general indemnity was passed, to cover all offences for which the actors in the late scenes might be called in question. And, we note with interest, that the restrictions on the elective privilege, which had been imposed by the "Long Assembly" of Sir William Berkeley, were removed, and all freemen were permitted once more to have a voice in choosing the men who were to exercise over them the power of liberty and bondage—of life and death.^b Among laws so wise and so healthful in their influence, we find but one which must call for reprobation. The Assembly declared that Indian captives taken in war should be made slaves during life^c—thus, for the first time, depriving the red man of the freedom he prized more than existence, and adding to the burthen of an institu-

^a Hening, ii. 357, 358, 359; Bancroft, ii. 221.

^b Hening, ii. 356, Act vii.; Bancroft, ii. 220. On this clause a brief passage of arms occurred in the Virginia Convention of 1829–30. B. W. Leigh, Esq., called Bacon a "rebel," and declared that he was the author of universal suffrage in Virginia. Mr. Leigh cited the note in Revised Code, i. 38, which certainly does not ascribe to Bacon the *paternity*

of free suffrage—the reverse rather is plainly set forth. In this debate, Bacon's character and laws were ably vindicated by John R. Cooke, Esq.—Virginia Convention, 1829–30, pages 339–341.

^c Hening, ii. 346; Gregory *vs.* Baugh, iv. Randolph, 624–633. This law did not remain long in force. It was the fruit of continued indignation against the cruelty of the Indians.

tion which had already inflicted unmeasured evil upon Virginia.

But new troubles were soon to arise. The governor positively refused to comply with his promise, and withheld from Bacon the eagerly sought commission. Indignant at this breach of faith, and fearing, for stringent reasons, that treachery would be employed against him,^a the young planter obeyed the warning of his uncle, and secretly left the seat of government. Berkeley, in great alarm, issued warrants for his apprehension, but they were impotent against the idol of the people.

Four hundred men were soon under the command of Bacon, who led them to Jamestown, and, arranging them in order upon the green in front of the State House, demanded from the Council a fulfilment of their pledge. Roused by this daring act, the old cavalier recalled his well-known courage. He had not entirely lost the heroism of earlier years. Advancing towards the insurgents, he bared his breast to their presented fusils, and cried aloud: "Here, shoot me—a fair mark—shoot!"^b But his young opponent was not inferior in chivalrous honour. His passions were violent, and they were now excited to intensity; yet he did not forget his duty. His reply deserves a record. "No, may it please your honour, we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's. We have come for a commission to save our lives from

^a T. M.'s Account, 15; Bancroft, ii. 221; Robertson's Am. 424; Grahame's Colon. Hist. i. 120; Bever-

^b T. M.'s Account, 17; Bancroft, ley, 71; Keith, 159.

the Indians, which you have so often promised ; and now we will have it before we go.”

The Council and Assembly sought to moderate the excitement, and persuaded Berkeley to grant the commission. The moment it was obtained, Bacon led his followers away, and prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the Indian war. But when relieved from the immediate presence of this formidable patriot, the Governor and his Council yielded to a mean desire for revenge ; and pretending that their late grant had been forced from them by arms, they declared Bacon a rebel, and prepared for hostilities against him. Berkeley repaired to Gloucester, a county fertile in soil, abundant in wealth, and containing a large population. Here he raised the royal standard, and invited the planters to rally round him and make war upon the disturber of the public peace. Great was his astonishment to find that his summons excited no enthusiasm, no cordial response. The seeds of disaffection had already taken root upon the very soil on which he stood. The leading men of Gloucester sent him a temperate and manly reply, telling him that they regarded Bacon as their brother and the friend of their country ; that he was now leading an army against the savages, from whom they had so much to fear ; that they could not consent to bear arms against one thus endangering his life for their safety ; but that, should he engage in any treasonable designs, the Governor might depend upon their aid.^a

^a Bacon's Proceedings, Force, 13, 14 ; Our Late Troubles, ditto, 5.

Meanwhile, intelligence of these measures against him was conveyed to the insurgent by Drummond and Lawrence, two steady patriots, who were both afterwards victims of their love of liberty. Bacon hesitated not a moment in his course. To be thus hunted in the rear like a savage animal, while he was pursuing the wolves, tigers, and bears, in front, was sufficient to awaken his anger.^a Retracing his steps, he advanced rapidly upon Sir William Berkeley, resolved to force him to the adoption of more equitable counsels. But the Governor prudently withdrew from the coming storm; and, attended by a few adherents, he transported himself with the feeble remnant of his friends across the bay to the eastern county of Accomac.^b

Bacon had advanced to Williamsburg, then known by the name of the Middle Plantation, when, finding that his enemy had fled, he summoned the gentlemen of the country to a free conference on the state of their affairs. Serious difficulties presented themselves. No organized government existed, and doubts prevailed as to the mode of obtaining one. But brave men are never discouraged by obstacles that can be overcome. The flight of Sir William Berkeley was considered a virtual abdication of the government;^c and when

^a Bacon's words in "Our Late Troubles," Force, 5; Bacon's Proceedings, 15; Bancroft, ii. 223. Beverley, 72; Keith, 160; Bancroft, ii. 224; Campbell, 77.

^b Burk, ii. 171; Grahame, i. 121; Marshall, 161; Robertson, 424; Bacon's Proceedings, in Force, 19; ^c Burk, ii. 172; Campbell, 78; Beverley, 72; Keith, 161, all say "*on pretence* that the Governor had abdicated," &c. But see Bancroft, ii.

it was farther urged that the period of ten years, for which he had been appointed, had expired,^a the people of Virginia did not hesitate to take into their own hands the responsible power of self-legislation. Bacon, and four other members of Council, issued writs for a new Assembly.^b The utmost joy and enthusiasm prevailed. Even the sensitive nature of woman caught the spirit, and aided in its diffusion. Sarah Drummond was the wife of Bacon's friend, and was worthy to be the companion of a patriot martyr. "The child that is unborn," she said, "will have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country."^c

To give consistency to their action, and to bind themselves into closer union, the assembled colonists published a manifesto, which, after due debate, they all subscribed. In this paper they recite the condition of the country, the raising of the army, the appointment of Bacon as general, the outrages of the Indians, and the unjust measures adopted by Sir William Berkeley. After this preamble, the manifesto concludes with three articles of agreement: by the first, the colonists pledge themselves at all times to join with Bacon against the common foe; by the second, they promise to use all proper

224; *Our Late Troubles*, 6; Bacon's *Proceedings*, 15-17. There is a remarkable parallel between these movements in the colony of Virginia and the revolution which occurred twelve years after in England, when James II. was declared to have "abdicated" the throne, because he fled

in time to escape the fate of his father.

^a Bancroft, ii. 224, citing Bonds, &c., from office of Gen. Court, Richmond.

^b Burk, ii. 172; Bancroft, ii. 224.

^c Bancroft, ii. 224, copying from Bonds, &c., in Gen. Court, Richmond.

means for the discovery and apprehension of his enemies, who desired to beget a civil war by opposing him; by the third, they go further, and, reciting that the Governor had informed the King that the people of Virginia were rebellious, and had requested that troops might be sent from England to subdue them, they solemnly engage to oppose all such troops, until his majesty should be informed of "the state of the case" by delegates sent by Bacon in behalf of the people. These bold articles of agreement were all signed by the colonists then assembled, on the 3d day of August, 1676.^a

Having thus successfully exerted himself in restoring the powers of government, Bacon advanced with his gallant army to attack the Indians. Already they had taken the alarm, and had hastily united their few remaining tribes to oppose his progress. He destroyed the towns of the Pamunky, the Mattapony, and the Chickahominy Indians, and then marched immediately to the point at which he expected to encounter the whole savage force. Very near the site of the present city of Richmond, is a spot well known as "Bacon Quarter Branch," which is supposed to have been included by the plantation of the renowned insurgent. Nearly three miles below this flows a small stream, which has for many years borne the name of Bloody Run, a title but too well merited by the fierce conflict which once took place upon its bor-

^a The manifesto is in Beverley, See Bancroft, ii. 223, 224; Bacon's 73, 74; Burk, ii. 173-175. Mr. Gra- Proceedings, 16, 17; Oldmixon, i. hame gives a parody, i. 121, 122. 387.

ders.^a On an eminence overhanging this stream the natives had collected their whole force, and knowing that here must be made their final stand, they prepared for a desperate resistance. A fort, defended and palisadoed in the best manner known to the savages, had been erected, and within its barriers, women, children, and warriors were all assembled. When Bacon approached, he instantly saw the difficulty and danger of an assault, but without a moment's delay, he threw himself at the head of his forces upon the Indian fortress. The palisades were torn down; the eminence was gained; the Indian warriors were met hand to hand; and in the terrible combat which followed, it is said that streams of blood ran down the hill, and mingling with the waters of the rivulet below, gave to it the ominous name which it has ever since preserved. The savages were completely routed; many of them were slain, and a large number were made prisoners. So decisive was this blow, that the Indian powers were for ever broken, and in eastern Virginia we hear of them no more.^b

While in the full tide of victory, Bacon received intelligence which again turned his thoughts to the enemy whom he had left in his rear. When Sir

^a Burk, ii. 176; Howe's Hist. 11; though it is there displaced from its proper order in the succession of events. Vide Burk, ii. 176; Charles Dickens's Amer. Notes, 56.

^b I am convinced that this is the battle described by T. M., in his account of Bacon's Rebellion, Force, Grahame, i. 122; Outline in Howe, 75; Bacon's Proceedings, 23; Campbell, 78, 79.

William Berkeley first arrived in Accomac, he was received with coldness, and among the better part of the population, no enthusiasm was felt for the royal cause. In this peninsula, the odious Navigation Laws had been felt in all their force, and the easy access to all parts from the seaboard rendered evasion of these laws both difficult and hazardous.^a Berkeley could gather around him few friends, except the lowest and most cowardly of the country's population. His condition was highly critical; when his fortunes were suddenly restored by an unexpected event. Giles Bland and Captain Carver, two zealous promoters of the late revolution, determined to make a descent on Accomac in two armed vessels which Bacon had pressed for the service. Their design was, if possible, to take Berkeley a prisoner and convey him to Jamestown.^b But treachery revealed their design. One Captain Larimore, had commanded one of these vessels, and had professed fervent zeal for the cause of Bacon. He was a man of coarse passions, and had even heretofore been little loved; but now he covered himself with greater infamy by assuming the office of a traitor. Hastening to Berkeley, he apprised him of the intended attack, and offered to head an expedition for defeating it. Bland and Carver were incautious, and both themselves and their crews seem to have yielded to the seductions of the wine cup, at a time when it specially behooved them to be sober. Twenty-six tried men,

^a Burk, ii. 177; Outline in Howe, 75.

^b T. M.'s Account, 21, 22; Bacon's Proceedings, 20.

heavily armed, were placed in two boats, and at midnight they approached in profound stillness the vessels of the insurgents. The work was accomplished in a moment. The crews were in no state to resist, and were all made prisoners.^a Giles and Carver were carried on shore and immediately put in heavy irons. The spirits of the royalist Governor rose in proportion to his former despair, and with them returned the thirst for vengeance. Four days after the capture, the unhappy Carver was executed upon a gibbet. Bland was retained in custody, but his death was not long delayed.^b

Collecting in haste his whole naval and military force, Berkeley set sail for Jamestown with one large armed ship, seventeen sloops and nearly six hundred men. (Sept. 7.) When he entered the town, he first offered solemn thanks to God for his delivery, and then issued renewed proclamations against the rebels, whom he now supposed to be utterly discomfited.^c But his triumph was brief. In his camp, near the scene of the late battle, Bacon received notice of the disasters of his friends and the success of his foes.^d Calling his followers once more to arms, he advanced rapidly towards

^a Bacon's Proceedings, 20; T. M.'s Account, 22, 23; Burk, ii. 180; Breviare et Conclusum, Burk, Appendix, 221.

^b T. M.'s Account, 23; Bacon's Proceedings, 20, 21; Our Late Troubles, 9.

^c Breviare et Conclusum, Burk, Appen. 251; Bancroft, ii. 226.

^d Breviare et Conclusum, Burk, Appen. ii. 251; The Insurgent, or a Tale of Early Times, 216, 217. This exciting tale is founded on the events of Bacon's Rebellion. With much of pure fiction, it embraces more of historic truth.

Jamestown, and while in route, he caused to be brought into his camp the wives of several leading royalists who were found at their houses in the country. Sending one of the number to apprise their husbands in town of the capture,^a he hastened onward with his determined army.

(Sept.) As the sun was sinking beneath the horizon, the insurgent forces gained a gentle eminence above Jamestown. Having first sounded defiance with their trumpets, and fired a volley, they immediately began preparations for attack and defence. A beautiful night in autumn favoured their design, and under the moonbeams they worked with little intermission. A trench was cut and a breastwork thrown up, composed of felled trees, earth, and brushwood.^b The royalist army could discern their labour; but, fearing to injure the wives of their leaders, who were in the rebel camp, they ventured not to fire a single shot, either from the ships or from the ordnance in the city.

But early in the next morning, Berkeley led out a large force of nearly eight hundred men, resolved to storm the entrenchment and drive the rebels before him. He encountered the very chivalry of Virginia, against whom his degraded followers would combat in vain. The royalist force was broken and routed in every direction; many of

^a Bacon's Proceedings, 23, 24; treated," Am. Colon., 162. This is Our Late Troubles, 8; Marshall says, unjust to the insurgents.

^b Breviare et Conclusum, 251
"the wives of those who supported the government were carried to the camp, where they were very harshly
Burk, ii. 183; Bancroft, ii. 227.

them were left dead on the field; their drum was abandoned to the victors, and with difficulty did the leaders themselves escape captivity.

Bacon followed up his success with the promptness of an experienced general. Planting several heavy cannon upon a commanding position, he turned them against the fleet anchored near the city. The first shot was sufficient to convince the governor that his naval force, upon which he chiefly depended, would be destroyed if longer retained in its perilous anchorage; and, with deep disappointment, he found himself again compelled to fly before his enemies.^a He deserted Jamestown with all his followers, and entering the vessels, they sailed down the river beyond the reach of the insurgent cannon.

No opposing force remained to dispute the entrance of the city. Bacon and his followers took possession of Jamestown, and found in it neither enemies nor friends. There is no evidence that they sought for spoil, nor is it probable that a body comprising some of the highest and most refined men in the colony, could have tolerated pillage in a town in which many of themselves had formerly dwelt.^b But the very existence of their prize gave them serious difficulty. To remain in Jamestown, with a sufficient force to guard it, would be impossible; to abandon it again to the royal forces would

^a Bacon's Proceedings, 25, 26; Burk, ii. 186, 187; The Insurgent, 242-244; Breviare et Conclusum, Appen. 252. ^b Mr. Campbell is not more inaccurate than unjust, in speaking on this subject, p. 81.

be dangerous. In this dilemma, Bacon adopted a measure, stern indeed, yet apparently both wise and necessary. He proposed that Jamestown should be destroyed, and his counsel was immediately approved. His two faithful friends, Drummond and Lawrence, with their own hands set fire to their respective houses, and in a short time the ancient, the only city in Virginia, was wrapped in flames.^a

From the mouldering ruins behind him, the insurgent chief slowly retired with his victorious army. Hearing that a large force, consisting of nearly one thousand men, was advancing through the upper counties, under Colonel Brent, with the supposed design of attacking him, he gathered his men around him, and informing them of the threatened danger, asked them if they were ready to renew the contest. Shouts, acclamations, the thunder of drums, and the clash of steel, attested their enthusiasm. With one accord they divested themselves of every thing that could impede their march, and prepared to meet the enemy.^b But their zeal, though sincere, was in this case hardly required. Already Brent's men were deeply infected with the spirit of freedom, which had roused their brethren; they learned, with joy, of the victories of Bacon; and refusing to march farther against him, they returned each man to his home.^c Thus this great storm was speedily dissipated. Brent was a royal-

^a Note to Burk, ii. 190; Bancroft, ii. 228; T. M.'s account of Bacon's Rebel, Force, 21.

^b Bacon's Proceedings, 27.

^c Ibid. 27.

ist, and was deeply mortified at the departure of his men; but he could not alone resist the tide which was now rapidly sweeping from Virginia every trace of monarchical rule.

The young chieftain had accomplished his purpose. The people, under his guidance, had asserted their rights, and their opposers had been driven into exile. A new Assembly had been summoned, and the power of free election having been restored, the burgesses might be expected fairly to represent the will of their electors. The army had been disbanded, but was ready, at a moment's warning, to re-assemble and to resist again the obnoxious measures of the royal government. Advices from England were anxiously expected, and men began to look upon the late revolution as established on a permanent basis. But a mysterious Providence was preparing a reverse. Virginia was not yet ready for independence. One hundred years were yet to pass away, ere she could find herself surrounded by sisters ready to unite their blood with hers in maintaining the rights of humanity. Nathaniel Bacon had imbibed the seeds of fatal disease in the trenches before Jamestown, and as the season wore away, his strength became visibly less. He lingered until the first day of October, when, at the residence of Mr. Pate, in the county of Gloucester, his spirit took its flight for ever from a world in which, though yet young, he had borne so conspicuous a part.^a

^a Bacon's Proceedings, Force, i. 229. An epitaph, written by one of 28; Burk, ii. 192; Bancroft, ii. 228, Bacon's followers, who was devotedly

It has generally been found, that popular movements, whether for good or for evil, are directed by one ruling spirit. When the keystone of the most massive arch is withdrawn, the fabric must crumble and fall. Had George Washington died at a critical period of the American war, it would not be safe to declare, that America would, nevertheless, have achieved her independence. Nathaniel Bacon died in 1676, and the tide of revolution was immediately rolled back. The hearts of the patriots sank within them; neither Ingram nor Walklate, who now headed them, was competent to the dangerous task. The first was but a frivolous being, better skilled in the dance than in the conflict of arms.^a As the fortunes of the people declined, the courage of Berkeley and his followers revived. Major Robert Beverley, an active member of the Council, sailed up the rivers, and scoured the country in pursuit of insurgent bands. Among his first prizes was Thomas Hansford, a noble young Virginian, whose warm heart had prompted him to strenuous action in the late rebellion. With cruel haste, he was hurried from the place of trial to the gibbet prepared for his execution. Even in view of a death so terrible, his heroic spirit did not give way. He implored only that he might be

attached to him, will be read with interest by every Virginian. It is in Force's Hist. Tracts, i. 29. The two valuable tracts, "T. M.'s Account," &c., and "Our Late Troubles," to which so frequent reference has been made in the preceding pages, were

originally published in the Richmond Enquirer, on the 1st, 5th, 8th, and 12th September, 1804. See Henning, ii. 374, in note.

^a He seems to have been a rope-dancer. Ingram's Proceedings, 31, 32.

shot like a soldier, rather than die on the gallows; but to this passionate request, a reply was returned, that he died not as a soldier but as a rebel.^a Expressing penitence for the errors of his past life, he yet fully justified his course in the insurrection, and calling upon all present to note that he died a loyal subject, and a lover of his country, he met his fate with the firmness of a truly brave man.^b

The powers of revenge were now solemnly invoked. As fast as prisoners of any note were brought in, they became victims of martial law. In York River, Captains Chieseman and Wilford were captured. In the skirmish, Wilford was wounded in one of his eyes, and lost its sight entirely; but when allusion was made to this, he said, with bitterness, that the loss was of small importance, as he doubted not the Governor would find him a guide to the gallows.^c His fears were, unhappily, but too soon fulfilled. But a more cruel punishment awaited Chieseman. When he was brought into the presence of the Governor, his wife accompanied him, and kneeling before the arbiter of their fate, she declared that she alone had urged her husband to rebellion, and implored that if one must die, she might be executed as the guilty person. Such a display of feminine tenderness might have moved a heart of stone; but it fell powerless upon the vindictive bosom of William

^a Ingram's Proceedings, Force, ever died by hanging. Ingram's Proceedings, 33.
33; Bancroft, ii. 230.

^b Hansford is said to have been ^c Ingram's Proceedings, Force, the first native-born Virginian who 33.

Berkeley. In the presence of her unhappy husband, he applied to her an epithet too gross to be repeated,^a imputing dishonour to a woman who had but just given proof of the highest traits that can adorn a virtuous wife! A few days afterwards, Chieseman died in prison from the effects of accumulated insult, injury, and mortification.

When William Drummond was captured, Berkeley could no longer restrain his triumph within the bounds of decency. Coming from his ship to the shore, he saluted his defenceless captive with a low bend of the body, and with all the mockery of affected politeness. "Mr. Drummond!" he said, "you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour."^b A trial by a court-martial, at the house of John Bray, resulted, as might have been expected, in his immediate conviction; and he was suspended upon a gibbet as soon as one could be prepared.^c Against this patriot, the vengeance of Berkeley seems to have burned with quenchless violence. He pursued his wife with fines and confiscations, and would willingly have subjected her to a traitor's death; but in after days, the protection of King

^a Ingram's Proceedings, in Force, 34; Bancroft, ii. 231.

^b T. M's. Account of Bacon's Rebellion, 23. Bancroft repeats the words without change, ii. 231.

^c The brief record of his trial is in Hening, ii. 546. On pages 545-557 of this invaluable compilation,

the reader will find many startling records of summary trials and condemnations to death. I have examined the original volume of MS. records in the office of the General Court in Richmond. It is labelled Judgments and Orders from 1670 to 1677. Consult pages 343-357.

Charles himself was extended, and she was restored to the possessions that had been taken away.^a

It is impossible to say to what extent the passions of the Governor would have carried him, had they been allowed unlimited time for their exercise. The forces under Ingram and Walklate were at length broken and dispersed, and daily additions were made to the list of prisoners of state. News of the rise and progress of the rebellion having been carried to England, the King issued a commission, appointing Herbert Jeffries lieutenant governor, and uniting him with Sir John Berry and Francis Morrison, as commissioners to inquire into the state of the colony. (1677, January 29.) They arrived early in the year, accompanied by a regiment of regular troops, to suppress the rebellion.

Although armed with full powers to prosecute the war with vigour, should it be necessary, the commissioners had received instructions to use all means for restoring peace; and they brought with them a royal proclamation of pardon to all engaged in the insurrection, except Bacon alone, who was now far removed beyond the utmost reach of kingly vengeance.^b But the Governor had not yet quenched his thirst for blood. The commissioners objected strenuously to the trial by martial law, which he

^a Proclamation of Charles, in *ful Account*," by John Berry and Burk, App. ii. 264-65, dated Oct. Francis Morrison, in Burk, Appen. ii. 254.

^b Burk, ii. 203. "True and faith-

had thus far employed, and urged a return to the trial by a jury of the people. To this, Berkeley at first gave the characteristic reply, that he had used martial law in order to insure conviction; and that he feared juries would acquit the prisoners!^a A memorable tribute to the worth of an institution, which may be well termed the bulwark of civil freedom. With great difficulty, he was persuaded to resort to a court of oyer and terminer, in which a jury was used. But a spirit of fear had now possessed the bosoms of many; the jury proved pliant, and more convictions took place. Eleven unhappy victims had fallen under the stroke of martial law ere the commissioners arrived.^b Nine were afterwards convicted by jury trial, without appeal, and successively executed.^c Several were banished from the colony, never to return, and their estates were forfeited to the use of the King, or rather of the Governor, who seldom failed to convert forfeitures into streams of supply

^a "A true and faithful Account." Burk, Appen. ii. 254. Mr. Burk has fallen into a gross error, in declaring that when the trial by jury was used instead of martial law, ten men were acquitted in one day, ii. 200. The reverse is true; ten were found guilty by the jury in one day. Ans. to Objections against Sir William Berkeley, in Burk's Appen. ii. 262, 263. Burk read historical documents carelessly. He seems to have been led into error by a mis-

take of a single word in the "True and faithful Account," page 254:—"There was not a prisoner that came to the bar, *that* was brought in guilty by the jury." It should be, "*but* was brought in guilty," &c. The context renders this reading indispensable. Yet Mr. Burk's error is repeated in the Outline, in Howe, p. 78. Bancroft corrects it, ii. 231, 232, note.

^b Henning, ii. 545-547.

^c Ibid, ii. 550-553.

for himself.^a Many were crushed by enormous fines, levied for the use of the King's troops sent to adjust the shackles to their hands; and five men were sentenced to appear at their respective county courts, with ropes around their necks, and humbly "ask pardon for their rebellion and treason."^b Few prisoners brought to the bar escaped conviction. By special requirement of the General Court, the juries were composed exclusively of freeholders and housekeepers; and their hearts seem to have been dismayed by the terrors of the very law which they were themselves chiefly active in enforcing.

Men began to ask each other to what extent this scene of blood would go. Berkeley was still inexorable, and was deaf even to the appeals of the King's commissioners. When Giles Bland was condemned to death, after a conviction by a jury, on the 8th of March, he pleaded a special pardon from the King, which had been sent over by the commissioners, and which the Governor had taken into his own custody and refused to exhibit. There is not the slightest reason to doubt that Berkeley suppressed this pardon, with the stern resolve that Bland should die.^c This en-

^a See Hening, ii., case of Henry West, 547, 548; Sands Knowles, 552; Bancroft, ii. 231.

^b Two of these persons appeared at court, with *small strips of tape* around their necks; but, on learning this, the Governor and Council, in high dudgeon, rebuked the sitting

justices, and ordered that the sentence should be literally executed.—Hening, ii. 557.

^c T. M.'s Account of Bacon's Rebellion, 24. The Duke of York had sworn, "By God, Bacon and Bland should die." He was a papist and a tyrant. See Burk, ii. 206.

lightened patriot met his fate with the calmness of conscious innocence;^a and his name descended to a family afterwards known among the firmest supporters of American freedom.

Not content with persecuting and destroying the living, Berkeley sought to wreak his unmanly revenge upon the dead. The remains of Nathaniel Bacon were eagerly sought, that they might be exposed upon a gibbet; but in this instance the love of a friend triumphed over the malice of an enemy. His body had been interred in a retired spot, and the coffin was pressed down by massive stones, by order of Lawrence, who had an instinctive presentiment of the design of the Governor.^b Thus the search was vain; the lifeless hero was unviolated, and his warmest friend escaped a death of ignominy. Lawrence was drowned in a swollen branch which he attempted to cross, when Beverley commenced his incursions into the heart of Virginia.^c

It was now time to arrest the Governor's arm. His vindictive feelings, instead of becoming exhausted, appeared to gather strength with each execution. His warmest friends were shocked by his virulence. When the burgess from Northamp-

^a Dr. Robertson, speaking of the sequel of Bacon's Rebellion, says, "No man suffered capitally!" *Am.*, i. 425. Mr. Grahame, who ought to have ascertained the truth, says he is satisfied "that no person was put to death by martial law, except during the subsistence of the rebel-

lion," i. 126, note. He is easily satisfied! All the trials by martial law, mentioned in *Hening*, ii. 545-547, were in January, 1677; nearly four months after the death of Bacon.

^b *T. M.'s Account*, 23, 24.

^c *Ibid*, 23; *Ingram's Proceedings*, 46, 47.

ton County returned to his home, he declared to a colleague, "he believed the Governor would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone."^a Even the King, with all his selfishness and hypocrisy, was horror-stricken when he heard of the executions; and, in his own refined language, was heard to say, "that old fool had hanged more men in that naked country, than he had done for the murder of his father."^b The call for severity had long since ceased; Ingram and his followers had been dispersed by Captain Grantham; the insurgents on York River had returned to their homes; the Governor's house and property at Green Spring had been restored to his possession.^c All were submissive, and all desired peace.

At this crisis, the General Assembly hesitated no longer to interfere. They voted an address to Berkeley, imploring him to shed no more blood, for none could tell where or when it would terminate.^d

This entreaty came from a source which the Governor could not disregard. The Assembly, convened in February, 1677, had thus far proved itself a ready instrument for stern measures against the rebels. They had passed acts of attainder against the dead, and imposed fines and confiscations upon

^a T. M.'s Account, 24; Burk, ii. 198. Burk's account of a treaty between the belligerents, is not accurate, ii. 208; Bancroft, ii. 232.

^b T. M.'s Account, Force, 24; Bancroft, ii. 232, in substance.

^d Burk, ii. 207; Bancroft, ii. 232.

^c Ingram's Proceedings, 43-45.

the living ;^a they had pronounced Bacon a traitor, and had repealed all of his laws except the only one among them worthy of repeal : they spared the law making Indians taken in war slaves, doubtless to prove their love of loyalty by their hatred to freedom ;^b they had gone so far in their devotion to the Governor as to enact that any one speaking mutinously or contemptuously concerning him, should either receive thirty stripes upon his naked person, or should pay eight hundred pounds of tobacco.^c Yet this was the body which now united with the commissioners in imploring that the arm of vengeance might pause ; that the blood of the people should no longer flow. Berkeley found his course regarded with universal disgust ; and feeling that he stood upon tottering ground, he hastened to retrieve, if possible, his injured fame at the court of his royal master.

He sailed from the colony in April. The utmost joy was felt at his departure ; and so much was he detested, that discharges of cannon and displays of fireworks expressed the public emotions.^d It were to be wished that he had left Virginia for ever immediately after the surrender to the Commonwealth in 1652. He would then perchance have escaped both the hatred of others and the dominion of his own most dangerous passions. But a repulse yet

^a Hening's Statutes, ii. 369, 381, passim.

^b The fact here noted is remarkable. See order of Assembly, in Hening, ii. 404, and note.

^c Hening, ii. 385 ; Bancroft, ii. 232.

^d Francis Morryson's Letter to Secretary Ludwell, in Burk's Appen., ii. 267.

sterner encountered him when he reached his native land. The King refused to receive him at court; and when the proud cavalier heard the remark that Charles had made concerning his excesses in Virginia, his spirit sank beneath the indignity.^a His age and late anxieties aggravated his disease, and he died a short time after landing upon the soil of England. It were an ungrateful task to enter the portals of the tomb in order to assail the memory of its occupant. Sir William Berkeley was an inhabitant of Virginia during a period of nearly forty years, and for twenty-eight of these he was her governor. His character has been regarded as inconsistent; but it is to be feared that such as he was in the closing years of his life, such had he always been. His very loyalty rendered him uncompromising. The same stern pride which planted a battery of cannon against the ships of the Commonwealth, taught him never to forgive the first offence of Nathaniel Bacon; the courage which would have resisted unto death the invasion of a foreign foe, became the relentless rage which sought the blood of numberless victims; the very

^a Bancroft, ii. 233. George Chalmers says Berkeley died "of a broken heart." *Revolt. Amer. Col.*, i. 164; *T. M.'s Account*, 24; *Burk*, ii. 208; *Bancroft*, ii. 233. But *Beverley*, 77, and his echo, *Keith*, 162, say, Charles approved of his course, and during his last sickness often made kind inquiries as to his health! The first assertion we know to be false, the last is wholly improbable. Mr.

Grahame prefers the authority of *Oldmixon*, in favour of Berkeley, to the plain reports of the King's commissioners against him. *Oldmixon* is proverbial for his stupid blunders. See *Beverley's Preface*. He has been touched by Mr. Pope's caustic pen.

"With royal favourites in flattery vie,
And Oldmixon and Burnet both outlie."

Versif. of Dr. Donne's *Satires*, iv.

resolution of purpose which made him true to his sovereign through evil and through good report, was afterwards the germ of that avenging zeal which would have consigned the living to a death of ignominy, and the remains of the dead to desecration and dishonour.

(April 27.) Upon the departure of Berkeley, Herbert Jeffries became governor, and all parties united in earnest efforts to heal the wounds and calm the troubled spirits of the unhappy colony. Previous to the rebellion, Virginia had presented a phasis of human life almost unknown in the history of the world. She was without cities; for her single town contained but eighteen dwellings, with a state-house and the time-honoured church.^a The people lived on their plantations, generally near some beautiful river or bold stream, which either turned their mills, or brought to their doors the produce of foreign climes. The houses were generally of wood, and few attained to the dignity of a second story. The more wealthy planters possessed in property all that could render life desirable. Seventy horses and three hundred sheep were not considered excessive possessions for the chief man of the colony.^b Their laws were yet simple, and lawyers were almost unknown. Education was not generally diffused; schools and colleges could hardly be said to exist. The affluent sent their sons to England for education; the medium classes

^a Bancroft, ii. 212, citing Mass. William Berkeley, Burk's Appen., Hist. Collec., xi. 53. ii. 263; Bancroft, ii. 212.

^b Answer to Objections against Sir

and the poor imparted to their children such knowledge of books as they possessed themselves, and this was generally sufficient for the proper discharge of their duties in life. Had the power across the ocean been idle, Virginia might have been prosperous and happy ; but it was her fate to be cursed by the very dominion to which she had so long and so loyally adhered. The rebellion opened the eyes of her people to their wrongs and to the remedy ; but its total failure closed them again in a troubled sleep, which was not disturbed until they were roused to slumber no more. It has been remarked that the rebellion was productive of enormous evil to Virginia, and of no real benefit;^a but it would be unwise thus hastily to judge and to determine. The evil was immediate and pressing, the benefit was unseen and silent in its operation. Availing himself of the insurrection as a pretext, King Charles refused to grant the favourable charter which *was said* to have been prepared, and gave a miserable substitute, with which the colony was forced to appear contented.^b It gave no privileges, guaranteed no liberties, removed no burdens, redressed no wrongs. It said nothing on the subject of taxation, thus leaving this avenue still open to English encroachment. A heavy loss of property had occurred during the rebellion. Jealousies had been engendered not easily to be appeased. A body of mercenary troops, the first ever permanently placed on

^a Marshall's Am. Col., i. 162; Bancroft, ii. 233. ter is there, and in Burk's Appen., lxi., lxii.; Bancroft, ii. 233; Bever-

^b Hening, ii. 531, 533. The charter, 76.

the soil of British America, added to the people's burdens, and insulted them by their very presence ;—lives had been sacrificed that would have been valuable ;—blood had been shed which would have warmed many patriot hearts. These were the evils ; they were many and onerous, but let them not mislead. The name of Nathaniel Bacon was not forgotten ; his spirit disappeared from human vision, but it yet lingered fondly about the land he had loved, ready to pervade it again when liberty should invoke its presence ; his principles wrought their way silently into the minds of men,—and one hundred years from the day of his death, Virginia was fighting in the front rank of the embattled host which drove the armies of Britain from her shores, and planted in imperishable honour the standard of freedom upon the soil of America.

CHAPTER VII.

Royal commissioners—Robert Beverley persecuted—Lord Culpeper arrives—His proceedings—His covetousness—Act of cohabitation—Destruction of tobacco plants—Severe measures against the rioters—Robert Beverley's wrongs—Assembly deprived of judicial power—Howard of Effingham—Treaty with the Five Nations—Death of Charles II.—Accession and character of James II.—Rebellion of Monmouth—White slaves—Revolution in England—William, Prince of Orange—Francis Nicholson governor—College of William and Mary—Sir Edmund Andros in Virginia—Nicholson again governor—Capture of a pirate—Nicholson's ambitious schemes—His proceeding in New York—Edward Nott—Alexander Spotswood governor—He promotes the welfare of the colony—His expanded views—Expedition across the Alleghany Mountains—Knights of the Golden Horseshoe—Blackbeard the pirate—Spotswood superseded—William Gooch governor—Expedition against Carthage—Death of Commissary Blair—Of Colonel William Byrd—Governor Gooch's charge to a grand jury—Capitol destroyed by fire—Departure of Gooch—Robert Dinwiddie governor.

HERBERT JEFFRIES exerted himself in good faith and with commendable zeal, in restoring comfort and peace to the colony. But it was not easy to close a chasm rent open by a convulsion hitherto unequalled in violence. Virginia long retained the marks of injuries commenced by the Parliament and King of England, and consummated by her own abortive effort for relief. She had now to endure an insult from the men who had seemed at first disposed to sympathize in her sufferings. The commissioners of Charles were required to

examine into the causes which led to the rebellion; and in exercising their power, they pursued a course of deliberate tyranny which would never have been expected. They demanded the journals of the General Assembly, and were met by a prompt refusal. They repeated the demand, urging it now personally upon Robert Beverley, the clerk, who, with inflexible courage, refused to yield them, unless ordered so to do by the body who had committed them to his charge. Incensed by this opposition, the commissioners resorted to force, and by their agents wrested the journals from the custody of their guardian!^a No important information was gained by this unworthy measure. Its only effect was to embitter the feelings of the Assembly, and excite a memorable train of persecution against their faithful officer.

The Indians properly belonging to Eastern Virginia had been effectually subdued, and Jeffries succeeded in making a treaty with the western tribes, by which they bound themselves to terms of friendship with the whites. This compact was concluded at Williamsburg, or the Middle Plantation, as it was then called, and was ratified with all due solemnity.^b But it did not long restrain the savages. No oaths or forms that the red men of America have ever been induced to assume,

^a This Robert Beverley was the same heretofore mentioned as giving active aid to Sir William Berkeley. rally her martyr. Burk, ii. 214; Hening, iii. 548, Hist. Documents.

He opposed the rebellion; but he loved freedom, and was literally her martyr. Burk, ii. 219.
^b Beverley, 77; Keith, 162; Burk, ii. 219.

have been strong enough to hold their hands, when a hope for revenge was awakened by a prospect for its indulgence.

Sir Herbert did not long wear his honours in the colony. He died in the close of the year 1678, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Chicheley, already well known as a member of the Council.^a This gentleman has the rare merit of having done many things for the good of his charge, and of having left undone many things that would have been to her injury. (1679, April 25.) During his government, the Assembly passed an act for erecting strong forts at the heads of the four rivers, Potomac, Rappahannoc, James, and Mattapony, and for placing in them sufficient garrisons to guard the country from sudden irruptions of the savages.^b This measure was salutary, but expensive. It was continued in use some years; but was finally displaced by a less cumbrous substitute. Two other acts, passed by the Assembly of 1679, have been censured by every historian who, in subsequent years, has turned his eyes upon them. Yet they merit something more than hasty condemnation. Reciting the many evils which had afflicted the colony from the importation of tobacco *by sea*, the Assembly enacts, that no more shall be imported into Virginia from the other colonies round the

^a Burk, ii. 223, Beverley, 78, Keith, 162, says Sir William Chicheley. The author of the "Outline," in Howe, 82, &c., calls him Sir Henry Chickerly.

^b Hening, ii. 433-440; Beverley, 78; Keith, 162; Burk, ii. 223.

capas, in any ship, sloop, boat, or other vessel. This act has been ridiculed as operating unfavourably upon Virginia, by diminishing her shipping, and preventing her from obtaining a monopoly of the carrying trade from Maryland and North Carolina.^a But let it be remembered, that under the Navigation Laws, every particle of tobacco imported from the other colonies bore a tax on entering port. If reshipped, it was taxed again, and on landing in England it must receive a farther burthen. It would not increase, it would rather diminish the average price of tobacco, thus to accumulate it in one state; and Virginia, whose heaviest interest was bound up in the culture of this weed, would not have been compensated for the real loss thus incurred, by seeing an increased number of British ships and British sailors in her navigable waters. The law particularly relating to Maryland was a measure of retaliation, called for by her illiberal conduct as to Virginia vessels and goods, and it was to cease when this northern sister amended her ways.^b Men are seldom blind to their pecuniary interests. The very fact that other settlements found it to their advantage to export tobacco to the older colony, proves the wisdom of Virginia in refusing to receive it into her ports.

Early in this year a new governor arrived from England. Thomas Lord Culpeper had already been introduced to the people of the colony, by

^a Beverley, 78; Keith, 163; Burk, ii. 223. The author of the Outline, in Howe, 82, calls this "a silly act."

^b These two laws may be read in Hening, ii. 445-447, acts viii. and ix.

the letters of the King, giving to him and to another favourite, the fairest part of their broad lands. He came now to visit his subjects and overlook in person his Northern Neck. He had been bred in the worst school in Europe, and soon proved himself an accomplished scholar. A polished manner covered a cold heart; an appearance of liberality concealed insatiate cravings for money; professions of respect and affection for the colony, accompanied a secret disgust and uneasiness at the very thought of residing upon its soil. His only wish was to realize as much gain from his office as possible, to inveigle the simple burgesses into an increase of his perquisites and his presents, to effect a profitable compromise of his claims upon the Northern Neck, and to return to the luxuries of England with the enjoyments of a sinecure.

He opened his game by publishing an act of indemnity for the benefit of all who had been engaged in Bacon's Rebellion,^a and by various courtesies he insinuated himself into the hearts of the lawmakers for Virginia. The result of his good management soon became apparent, and the hopeless settlers had cause long to regret their complacency to his smooth lordship. The members of Assembly, feeling through all the nerves of their bodies the mesmeric touch of the Governor, hastened to show their gratitude. The salary of his office had been one thousand pounds per annum; they immediately raised it to two thousand, and in

^a Hening, ii. 458-464; Beverley, 78, 79; Kent, 163; Burk, ii. 224; Campbell, 85; Outline in Howe, 82.

the height of their loyalty they made perpetual the duties and quit-rents accruing to the King which had theretofore been subject to their own revisal.^a Thus they deliberately resigned the only power of self-defence they had heretofore possessed against the encroachments of majesty and its minions.

But this was not all; it had been the custom of masters of foreign ships on ascending the James to present to the Governor wines, liquors, and provisions, to cheer his soul and sustain him in his arduous labours. To make this praiseworthy custom more useful, Culpeper procured an act imposing a regular duty proportioned to their tonnage on all such ships, which was to be applied to the benefit of himself and his successors in office.^b The Assembly, having provided for his table, gave him one hundred and sixty pounds per annum for the rent of the gubernatorial mansion. We are surprised that we do not find appropriations to build stables for his horses, sheds for his cows, and kennels for his canine companions.

Having obtained nearly as much by open demand as he could venture to accept, his lordship next resorted to an ingenious scheme of secret knavery. He had received from the King instruc-

^a Act iii., Hening, ii. 466-469; been better expressed than by making an addition of one thousand pounds to his salary"!!

"the prudent administration of Culpeper entitled him to the friendship of the colony, which could not have

^b Burk, ii. 225; Beverley, 79, 80, gives the rate of duty.

tions to disband the regiment of soldiers sent over to quell the late rebellion, and to pay them their respective dues. In view of this, he began to express great concern at the depreciated value of silver coin in the colony, which caused a constant drain to the other settlements in which the depreciation did not exist. The Assembly were proposing to remedy the evil, but Culpeper reminded them that the right to regulate the value of coin, was a high prerogative of the crown with which they had no right to interfere. As the representative of the King, he then issued a proclamation raising the current value of the silver coin known as "pieces of eight" from five to six shillings. Having previously procured an immense number of these pieces of eight, he immediately paid off the unlucky soldiers at the increased value, thus realizing unto himself the consoling profit of twelve pence in every amount of five shillings.^a

But some time afterwards, he found his own salary and perquisites paid in this same money at its current rate, and not being at all content with this evenhanded justice, he incontinently issued another proclamation and reduced the coin to its former value! His object had been gained, and his avarice had little regard for the losses of others.^b

Although Virginia now furnished every thing

^a Beverley, 80; Keith, 164; Bancroft, ii. 247. Mr. Burk, ii. 238, 239, attempts to defend Culpeper on this charge, but surely Beverley will not be suspected of making an unjust attack upon a royal governor.

^b Beverley, 81; Keith, 164; Burk, ii. 238.

that was essential to moderate desires, she was not yet cursed with the luxurious pleasures that had gained admission into England during the reign of Charles the Second. (Aug.) Lord Culpeper hastened back to the mother country, to renew his old associations, and to live on the profits of his office. Sir Henry Chicheley again assumed the government. From this time, we note the permanent establishment of a custom which had already prevailed to some extent. The governor-in-chief preferred to reside in England, and enjoyed a revenue of twelve hundred pounds; the lieutenant-governor resided in the colony, performed all the duties, and received eight hundred pounds for his salary.^a At first, the King did not heartily acquiesce in this arrangement, and preferred that the governor should dwell on the soil of his province; but gradually this rule was relaxed, until it became a dead letter.

After the departure of Culpeper, the act of "Cohabitation," passed by the last Assembly, went into effect. With many in the colony, it had long been a favourite scheme to have towns on the rivers, and to imitate, as far as possible, the policy of the northern settlements. The spirit pervading Virginia was opposed to this scheme. The people preferred their free lives in the country, to the conventional restraints of city manners; and, with some justice, they regarded towns as the instruments of oppression; useful for little except to enforce the hated Navigation Laws. When ships en-

^a Note to Grahame's Colon. Hist., iii. 65.

tered their rivers, they traded up and down as far as tide-water extended; anchoring whenever and wherever they found it expedient, and lading or unlading their cargoes at one or several plantations, as events might require. The Assembly attempted that which never has been and never will be accomplished. Selecting many points on the principal rivers, they forthwith gave them the dignity of "towns;" forbade ships to receive or discharge freight at any other places; and required all persons to bring their produce to these favoured points.^a But the legislature soon discovered that it was easier to make laws than to make cities. Omnipotence may call a world into being by a command; but man cannot legislate into existence even the most humble hamlet. The laws of trade are paramount even to the enactments of an English Parliament.

When ships came into the rivers, they found it almost impossible to obey this law; the planters refused to bring their tobacco to a distance, at great expense, when they might load it so easily before their own doors. Some voyages were entirely lost; some daring men openly defied the law; others sought to evade it; disorder crept into the movements of commerce; criminal proceedings were instituted against many citizens; and nearly all parties united in anathematizing a system so pregnant with folly and evil.^b

^a Hening, ii. 471-478. Mr. Hening, with great propriety, calls these nurslings of the Assembly, "paper towns."—Hist. Doc., iii. 541.

^b Hist. Doc., in Hening, iii. 541; Burk, ii. 229, 230; Bancroft, ii. 248.

Its remote results were worse than was its immediate operation. The derangement in trade caused a farther decline in the price of tobacco; all previous efforts of the Assembly, to procure what was called "cessation,"^a in Maryland and North Carolina, had failed; the people were driven to despair by the insufficiency of their only resource to supply their wants. Stormy passions began to rise, and the public mind was so much excited, that nothing but a leader seemed needful to renew the fires kindled a few years before in the oppressed colony. (1682, May 1.) In this crisis, many inhabitants of Gloucester, New Kent, and Middlesex Counties, assembled, and directed their rage not against their fellow-men, but against the devoted weed of their land. They fell upon the tobacco plants with vigour, and in a short time cut up the whole growing crop, covering extended fields in their respective counties.^b They directed their fatal attack chiefly to the sweet-scented tobacco, because this kind was raised in Virginia alone, and they hoped thus greatly to enhance its price.

(1682.) Intimations of a threatened tempest had been carried across the Atlantic, and the King commanded Lord Culpeper to repair in person to the seat of his government. He arrived in No-

^a That is, cessation from planting the weed for a year or more, until its price should rise. Outline, in Howe, 82; Hist. Doc., in Hening, iii. 541, 542.

^b Hist. Doc., in Hening, iii. 542.

Report of Council to Governor, on the state of the country, Hening, ii. 562; Beverley, 81; Keith, 164; Burk, ii. 234; Grahame, i. 131; Bancroft, ii. 248; Chalmers's Revolt Am. Colon., i. 165.

vember, and immediately appeared before the Council and Assembly. His temper was soured by disappointment, and he regarded with disgust the people, to govern whom he was called from the luxuries of the English court. He rebuked both councillors and burgesses for remissness in duty, and threw out dark threats of chastisement, if they again incurred his displeasure. The tobacco rioters were prosecuted with the utmost rigour; many of them were already in jail, and were immediately brought forth to be placed upon trial. It will not be premature at once to state the result of this remarkable outbreak. Most of the offenders were too obscure to be detected; but some were followed with all the vindictive energy of the law. At the session of 1684, an act was passed, denouncing the penalty of death against the offence of plant-cutting, and declaring a combination for the purpose to be high treason.^a Lord Culpeper had, by proclamation, on the 22d May, 1683, pardoned all the rioters, except seven individuals, whose names are given;^b and in 1684, during the administration of Lord Howard, six of these unhappy men were executed under previous conviction and sentence.^c It is to be feared they suffered under that most terrible of all engines of power—an *ex post facto* law.

^a Act ii., Hening, iii. 10. See John Wise, John Hayley, John Sackler, Thomas Amies, and Robert Beverley.

^b Proclam., in Hening, iii. 563, 564. The names of the excepted are, Richard Bayley, Henry Ismon,

^c Burk, ii. 278.

A more noble victim than these had felt the weight of kingly persecution. The name of Robert Beverley is comparatively unknown in Virginia, yet does it merit to be preserved among the records of those who have suffered martyrdom in the cause of liberty. We have already seen that he refused to yield the journals of the House of Burgesses when demanded by the royal commissioners. His conduct was approved by the Assembly, who voted that the forcible taking of their records was "a violation of their privileges; and desired satisfaction to be given them, that they might be assured no such violation should be offered for the future."^a When this magnanimous act was reported to Charles, he was startled by its boldness, and immediately commanded that it should be *erased* from the journals of the house,^b and that Culpeper should have a bill introduced into the Assembly condemning its previous conduct. Before the second arrival of his lordship, the proceedings against Beverley commenced. (May 9.) Under the pretext that he had fomented opposition to the "paper towns," had urged on clamours for an Assembly, and had incited the plant-cutters to their work, he was seized and sent aboard the Duke of York, a ship of war then lying at James-

^a Hening, ii. 560; Burk, ii. 215.

^b Order made by King Charles II. 21st Dec., 1681. Hening, ii. 560, 561. This was the first "expunging act" ever carried into effect in America, so far as my researches enable

me to decide. Another case was furnished by the celebrated "Expunging Resolution" passed by the Senate of the United States, January 16th, 1837.

town, and commanded by Captain John Purvis.^a Three members of Council were ordered to seize his papers, and if necessary to break open doors in order to obtain them.^b

It would be painful rather than instructive to follow Beverley through the various scenes of deliberate persecution prepared for him by the government. He was hurried from ship to ship, perhaps from fear that he would be forcibly set at liberty if confined on land. He was sent to the Eastern Shore, and subjected to rigid custody. He escaped once, and was immediately afterwards seized and guarded with increased vigilance. His demand for a lawful trial, and for information of the charges against him, was unheard. His prayer for the sacred writ of habeas corpus was refused, or was granted only that he might be mocked by the appearance of its protection. When at length Lord Culpeper returned to the colony, it was thought necessary to proceed in form against the prisoner. (Jan. 10.) In addition to the charges already made, it was considered best to fortify their case by accusing him of having broken open letters containing writs for electing members of the House of Burgesses.^c Sir Henry Chicheley asserted that this act was without his consent, but it is certain that Beverley had warrant for his conduct, having received the

^a Hening, iii. 543, 544; Burk, ii. 545; Burk, ii. 241. These names are yet known in Virginia, and 241.

^b These members were Ralph Wormeley, Matthew Kemp, and their possessors *now*, it is hoped, hate oppression.

Christopher Wormeley. Hening, iii. ^c Hening, iii. 548; Burk, ii. 245.

letters by a messenger from the Lieutenant-Governor, with permission to examine their contents if he thought proper.^a Thus was this resolute victim kept in close confinement, debarred from the privileges of life, the joys of family intercourse, and the test of a fair trial, until Culpeper passed out of office and a successor assumed his station, and rivalled his tyranny.

His lordship was not content with individual wrong; he aimed a blow at the whole colony, and directed his assault to a point peculiarly sensitive and unprotected. Heretofore the General Assembly had been the supreme judicial tribunal of Virginia, to which appeals lay even from the General Court, composed of the members of Council. Culpeper knew that the Assembly would be perfectly intractable on the subject of his claims upon the Northern Neck. Whenever a question involving his right to this territory came before them, he could expect nothing but signal defeat. With much mean ingenuity, he fanned the flames of a contest between the Council and Burgesses as to their judicial rights, and at length on pretence of deciding it, he referred the matter to King Charles, who immediately took away all power as a court from the Assembly, and made the Council the final tribunal, except in cases involving more than one hundred pounds, in which an appeal was al-

^a This is proved by the affidavit of Richard Farmer, given in Henning, iii. 561, 562.

lowed to the King in Council.^a (May 23.) Thus at one fell stroke the House of Burgesses lost all judicial power, and this tremendous arm of government was subjected directly or indirectly to the will of the English sovereign. Lord Culpeper had no longer any reason to fear opposition in his encroachments upon the proprietors of the Northern Neck. His principal difficulty was to get agents willing to represent him among these high-souled planters.^b Wearied with litigation, they at length determined to effect a compromise of the conflicting claims, but his lordship derived little profit from his success, having, in 1684, surrendered his grant to the King.^c After James II. ascended the throne, he again made a full grant of this territory to the Culpeper family, of which the sole heiress married Thomas, Lord Fairfax, from whom was descended the Earl whose name even to the present day graces the title deeds of landed proprietors in this pleasant portion of Virginia.^d

^a Beverley, 83; Marshall's Am. Colon., i. 163; Keith, 165; Hening, iii. 550; Bancroft, ii. 248, 249. The first three authorities say "three hundred pounds," but the original record in Hening, says one hundred.

^b Beverley, 83, says, "After him Col. George Brent, and Col. William Fitzhugh, that were noted lawyers and inhabitants of said Neck, were employed in that affair, but succeeded no better than their predecessors."

^c Bancroft, ii. 249.

^d On the 17th of October, 1746, commissioners appointed by direction of King James II. traced the dividing line between Maryland and Virginia, and planted "The Fairfax Stone" at the head of the north branch of Potomac River. This branch is often called the Cohongoroota. See Kercheval's Hist. Valley of Va., 209-215, and the very able report of Charles James Faulkner, Esq., relative to the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland, dated Nov. 6, 1832, in Kercheval, 215-223,

The Governor remained upon the soil of the colony as short a time as decency would permit. He fled again to the delights of England, and so fascinated did he become, that his master could not drive him to his task. Charles could be stern when his caprice required it. He brought Culpeper to a trial, on the charge of having misapplied the provincial revenues, and the verdict of a jury solemnly affirmed the justice of the charge.^a He lost his commission, and for a few years at least, he was driven from the sunshine of royal favour.

(1684, April 15.) A change of men in the colony produced no salutary change of measures. English governors, at this time, were formed in the same mould, and we mark but little difference between them, except that some were more successful in pillage than others. Lord Howard, of Effingham, appeared in Virginia, and his commission from the King was read on the 15th of April. He came with the hope and design of gathering money, and to this end his prominent measures were directed. He commenced with an annual tax of twenty shillings upon school-masters,^b probably to prove his appreciation of learning, and his desire for its progress in the colony. Had he given a heavy bounty to this invaluable class of men, in-

Keith, 167. The author has frequently seen the signature of Lord

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist. i. 131, 132.

Fairfax. It is regarded as evidence of a good title in the Northern Neck,

^b Beverley, 85; Keith, in general terms, 167.

but it is a permanent badge of royal selfishness. Read Stephens's *Heirs vs. Swann*, ix. Leigh, 404-421.

stead of taxing them, he would have been a benefactor not merely to his own, but to subsequent times. He imposed a tax of five pounds upon lawyers in the General Court, and fifty shillings on those practising in inferior courts. Probates of wills, and letters of administration were soon laden with pecuniary burthens. Nothing that could bear an impost escaped the vigilant eye of this extractor. Even when the unhappy plant-cutters, who had escaped theretofore, were brought to execution, he seemed more anxious to gratify his own avarice than to provide victims for insulted sovereignty. The greater part of their estates, by an old order of Council, which was produced for the occasion, became the property of the Governor.^a With such temptations, Effingham would willingly have seen the most substantial men in the colony wreaking their revenge upon the growing crop of tobacco.

Although he was profoundly ignorant of the higher mysteries in legal science, he fell into an error too common in such cases. He believed himself to be one of the most enlightened of jurists. He erected a Court of Chancery, in which he himself presided, to pass upon the rights of people compelled to sue in his court, and astonish them by his luminous decrees.^b It is not improbable, that he was urged to this measure by a wish to secure the fees of the office, rather than by the suggestions of his ridiculous vanity.

^a Burk, ii. 278, citing ancient records.

^b Beverley, 86; Keith, 167; Burk, ii. 301; Grahame, i. 133.

Finding that he could no longer delay to grant to Robert Beverley the trial to which he was entitled, Howard, if possible, resolved to make this case a means of gathering to himself a measure of popular love. Long imprisonment and loss of hope had acted sensibly upon the spirits of the victim; and when it was intimated to him, that by an humble application to the Governor he might obtain a pardon, he thought himself compelled to seek it. It is affecting to see, in his letter to Effingham, the struggle within a soul conscious of its own rectitude, and yet depressed by the weight of irresistible power. Acknowledging his lordship's kindness in offering to his "sorrowful petitioner" the aid of counsel, he declines to receive it, and throws himself upon executive mercy.^a (May 9.) The court found him guilty of "high misdemeanours," and thereupon the Governor outstretched the hand of clemency and granted him a pardon.^b A more revolting triumph of oppression could not have been shown. This courageous man was not guilty of one of the offences charged upon him. He was far removed from the plant-cutters, and in no form participated in or incited their riot. He properly refused to deliver the journals of the Assembly without their order. He opened the letters containing writs, upon the express permission of Sir Henry Chicheley. He had been a faithful friend to the government, and had upheld Sir

^a Beverley's petition is given by Hening, iii. 548, 549. It is alluded to in Burk, ii. 280; Outline, in Howe, 85.

^b Hening, iii. 548.

William Berkeley at the hazard of his own life.^a Yet, during more than two years, he was followed by incessant persecution, seized like a common felon, imprisoned in ships of war, guarded with unwonted harshness, kept from his family, forbidden to practise an honourable profession,^b and when at length brought to trial, he was convicted of high offences, asked forgiveness on his knees, and received a pardon from the Governor! Let humanity weep over such an example. When the innocent must be pardoned for sins never committed, the guilty will go unquestioned, though stained with a thousand crimes.

But among all of Effingham's delinquencies, history will do him justice. He was active in procuring a treaty, from which Virginia certainly derived advantage during many years. The Indians properly belonging to her soil had long since ceased to give her serious trouble. But other tribes of red men yet remained. The FIVE NATIONS had won for themselves a name which will endure with the records of America. These renowned savages were chiefly settled in the magnificent country now covered by the western part of New York; but their influence extended itself from New England to Carolina. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, form-

^a Letters and certificates in Henning, iii. 567-571. These were received by Mr. H. in a very ancient manuscript, from Robert Berkeley, Esq., of Blandford, Essex Co., Va.

^b He was a lawyer by profession, and appears also, at times, to have performed the duties of a surveyor. Henning, iii. 565, 566.

ed the original confederacy ; but their principle of action was to conquer neighbouring tribes, and to unite them with themselves.^a The accession of the Tuscaroras,^b who dwelt on the borders of Virginia and Carolina, swelled the number of the tribes to six, and made their attacks more formidable and their name more renowned. These natives were among the most intellectual and formidable that America has ever contained. They were eminent for physical strength and beauty ;—so eminent, that when Benjamin West first saw the statue of the Apollo Belvidere, he started back in amazement at the close resemblance to the graceful proportions of a young Mohawk warrior.^c They were terrible in war. To the subtlety of the savage, they united much of the skill at combined effort displayed by the civilized. Their courage was indomitable ; their revenge never slumbered. “They advanced like foxes, attacked like lions, and retreated like birds.”^d To their Indian enemies their very name inspired terror ; and the whites found in them foes never to be despised, or neglected with safety. These dangerous red men had already extended their incursions to Virginia, and Effingham eagerly embraced an opportunity of concluding with them a treaty of peace, under

^a Burk, ii. 281 ; Grahame, ii. 207.

The map in Bancroft, iii. 241, may be consulted with advantage.

^b This took place in 1712.

Holmes's Annals, i. 507.

^c Mr. Grahame mentions this incident, ii. 208.

^d Charlevoix, quoted by Grahame,

ii. 208.

guarantees sufficiently solemn to insure its observance.

In company with two members of his Council, he joined Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, at Albany, and, on the 13th July, they met deputies from the several tribes of this Indian league. The "talk" was opened by Effingham, who, by means of an interpreter, made a speech to the natives, well chosen in ideas, and quite sufficient to give us a favourable view of his abilities. He told them that they had often provoked their white brethren of Virginia by their aggressions; brought to mind particular acts of cruelty they had committed; threatened, in dignified terms, to retaliate upon them; and finally urged them to adopt the provisions of the treaty offered. They were to call out of Maryland and Virginia all their young men who had been sent thither for war; they were to observe profound peace with the friendly Indians; they were to make no incursions upon the whites in either state; and, when they marched southward, they were not to approach near to the heads of the great rivers on which plantations had been made. On consenting to these terms, the chain of friendship was to be brightened, its links were to remain ever inviolate, and two hatchets were to be buried in token of peace.^a

To these proposals an orator of the Mohawk clan made a reply full of Indian figures and energy. Disclaiming, in behalf of his tribe, all

^a Colden's Five Nations, i. 45-53; Treaty quoted in Burk, ii. 284.

hostile designs, he sternly rebuked the Oneidas, the Onondagas, and Cayugas, for their evil deeds. "You, Onondagas," he said, "our brethren, you are like deaf people that cannot hear; your senses are covered with dirt and filth;" then, after farther exhortation to all, he said, "There are three things we must all observe: first, the covenant with Corlaer; secondly, the covenant with Virginia and Maryland; thirdly, with Boston. We must stamp understanding into you, that you may be obedient; and take this belt for a remembrancer."^a In addressing the governors, he enforced his terse and expressive sentences by occasional presents of belts, raccoons, and beavers; and, at the close of the treaty, a hole was dug, and five axes were buried: two for Virginia and Maryland, and three for the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Cayugas. The Mohawks declared that no axe was necessary for them, as they had never been hostile; and the deputies of the Senecas had not yet arrived.^b Thus was concluded an important treaty, afterwards fully ratified by a meeting of deputies from Virginia, and her Indians, with chiefs from the Five Nations. At this interview a Mohawk orator sang every link of the symbolic chain of love held in his hand, and concluded with a chant of peace to the sachems of the southern colonies.^c

^a Treaty in Colden's Five Nations, i. 49, 50; in Burk, ii. 285; Bancroft, ii. 421. Corlaer was the Governor of New York. They called the Governor of Virginia, Assarigoa.

^b Bancroft, ii. 422; Treaty in Colden, i. 52, 53; Burk, ii. 287.

^c Burk, ii. 291. This was in 1685. The white deputies from Virginia were Colonel Byrd and the Attorney-General, Edmund Jennings.

After this time the natives continued to decrease in number in the counties east of the Alleghanies. The forts on the heads of rivers were disused; and, instead of them, companies of mounted rangers were appointed, armed with pistols, a sword, and a carbine, whose duty it was to scour the country in all parts infested by Indians, and repel their attacks.^a This measure was found highly useful, and it gradually gave existence to a class of men known as "Virginia Rangers," whose services were of the greatest importance in subsequent wars.

(1685.) In the next year Charles the Second descended to his grave, and was succeeded by his brother, the popish Duke of York. We can derive but small profit from reflection either on the life or the death of the sovereign who had passed away; and he who now came on the stage would be equally unworthy of thought, but for the errors which arrayed England against him, and the merited misfortunes to which they gave birth. He was a coarse being, and might have been useful in the world had he been destined always to occupy the quarter-deck of an English man-of-war. Popery offered a convenient creed to him, who could only repair his injury to Ann Hyde, by making her his wife and adopting her religion. He was unworthy to be the king of a noble nation, and he abdicated her throne, only to escape being hurled from it by her indignant arm.

^a Act vii., in Hening, iii. 17-22; Holmes's Annals, i. 465.

Few changes in Virginia followed the accession of James to the English throne. The illegitimate Earl of Monmouth made use of the name of his father, Charles Stuart, to incite a rebellion in the mother country. His followers were routed; and he was himself brought to the scaffold, where the executioner acted the part of an unwilling torturer, by striking the victim again and again without severing his head from his body.^a But James, and his worthy judicial coadjutor Jeffries, turned the inferior rebels to better use, by selling them for "ten or fifteen pound apiece," to be slaves in the colony.^b (Sept. 19.) Virginia was willing to receive these unhappy men. They were dishonoured by no crime, save that of having attempted to overthrow a dominion already hated by the virtuous and the prudent; and on her generous soil they soon acquired independence and tranquillity.

The Assembly which convened in this year was composed of courageous and stubborn spirits. They had already re-elected Robert Beverley their clerk; and they now proceeded to scrutinize Effingham's measures, and to censure his exactions with becoming boldness. He found it impossible to escape their vigilance. How could he hope for peace, after having planted thorns in his pillow by numberless acts of dishonesty? In one point, however, it is to be feared that the Assembly mistook their own powers. The King had always claimed the right to express dissent to the enactments of the provin-

^a Hume's *England*, ii. 615, edit.

^b Bancroft, ii. 251.

cial legislatures, and thus prevent them from becoming laws. The constitution of the colony had never been freed from this shackle; but so rarely had it been felt, that its existence was almost forgotten. Lord Howard, by royal proclamation, repealed certain acts of the Assembly, which themselves repealed certain prior laws. The constitutional effect of this was, of course, to revive these prior laws, and restore them to full vigour.^a But against this the House of Burgesses vehemently protested, and the dispute waxed so warm, that the Governor referred it to his majesty in council. Finding the Assembly inexorable, and most uncomfortably attentive to his own public conduct, on the 13th December, Howard abruptly prorogued them.

(1686, Nov. 15.) The next year, arrived a letter from King James, which Effingham hastened to inflict upon the refractory burgesses. His majesty's ire was greatly excited by their obstinacy, and in this epistle he reprimands them like schoolboys under the eye of a lordly pedagogue. He talks of their "disaffected and unquiett dispositions," is much shocked that his power to negative their laws should be called in question, and commands that they shall be dissolved, that the "inhabitants of that our colony" may send better men to represent their interests.^b The conclusion is more remark-

^a Burk, ii. 293; Bancroft, ii. 254. The author of the Outline, in Howe, 85, appears to sympathize with the Assembly in regarding this as an illegal exercise of power; but if Howard really acted under authority from the King, I do not perceive that he transcended the bounds of the existing constitution. Vide Grahame, note, i. 135.

^b James R., Letter to Lord Howard, Hening, iii. 40; Burk, ii. 295.

able. Singling out the faithful Beverley as the source of all evil, he declares him incapable of holding any office under government, and requires that he shall be prosecuted again with the full rigour of the law;^a—and yet farther, he instructs the *Governor himself* to select a clerk for the House, and on no pretence to permit any other person to exercise the duties of that office.^b English monarchs began already to find American Assemblies and their officers the most dangerous of foes to their extravagant pretensions.

(1687.) The succeeding year brought for ever to a close the persecutions that man could inflict upon one of his fellows. Worn down by suffering and anxiety, Robert Beverley sank into the grave;^c whither, it may be, the hatred of his enemies would have followed him, could they have made him longer feel the wounds that revenge would have inflicted upon him. Enough were, however, yet alive to endure the malice of the Governor. We are informed of one James Collins, who, for treasonable expressions against the King, was thrown into prison and confined in irons; of one James Howard, who was committed for merely slighting the authority of a member of Council; and of Christopher Berryman, who disobeyed President Bacon's warrant, and for this high offence was compelled to ask

^a Hening, iii. 41; Burk, ii. 295; Outline, in Howe, 85.

^b This letter is dated 1st August, 1686; Hening, iii. 41.

^c April, 1687. Robert Beverley being lately dead.—Hening, iii. 550. Mr. Burk dates his death in the preceding year.

pardon on his knees!^a The terrors of the old "regime" were once more gaining strong ground in the ancient colony.

King James would fain have introduced popery into Virginia, had his rule been long enough to accomplish it. Whenever an officer was to be appointed, he took care that he should be one friendly to Rome; whenever he could touch the church, he sought to turn her eyes to the City of the Seven Hills.^b But God would not permit his designs to be consummated. The storm was already gathering, which at length burst upon his head; and his own ruin, and the overthrow of his governor in the province, were nearly simultaneous. At the very time when James was driven from his throne, and compelled to fly before his son-in-law, Effingham left the colony never to return; and he was immediately followed by Philip Ludwell, as the agent of the people, to lay their complaints at the feet of royalty.^c

(1689, May 23.) When the Prince of Orange was announced as King of England, the most heartfelt joy pervaded America. The late dynasty had done little, except oppress and annoy the provinces, and any change would have been grateful. William did not immediately declare himself as

^a Burk, ii. 297.

^b Burk, ii. 299, 305. "Colonel John Scarborough had told Lord Howard, that His Majesty King James would wear out the Church of England; for that when there

were any vacant offices, he supplied them with men of different persuasion."

^c Tytler's Univ. Hist., 236; Grahame, i. 133; Hening, iii., List of Governors, after Preface.

the friend of his distant subjects. The advantages they derived from the revolution were numerous and great, but they were silent and gradual in their developement. The complaints against Effingham were heard, and some of the grievances set forth were removed;^a but this unworthy man still held the office of governor-in-chief of Virginia. In his absence, Nathaniel Bacon, as President of Council, administered the government. Many abuses were corrected; justice returned to her former regular habits; exorbitant fees were reduced; the traces of Howard's avaricious follies were gradually erased, and Virginia began again to give evidence of prosperity.

(1690, Oct. 16.) In the next year, Francis Nicholson took his seat in Council, as lieutenant-governor, under Lord Effingham. This gentleman had already spent much time in America, and his course of petty tyranny and annoyance in New York, had nearly cost him his life. He was compelled to abscond in great haste, to escape a popular outburst, which his conduct had roused. Yet, when transferred to the southern colony, his course was more moderate, and for a season, at least, he was regarded with esteem. We are tempted to believe that he resorted to some doubtful artifices, in order to gain the good will of the people. He had certainly never been distinguished either for courage or bodily prowess; yet, in Virginia, we find him encouraging manly games, and attending

^a Order of King in Council, Sept. 9, 1689, in Burk, ii. 308, 309.

at scenes of boxing, wrestling, running, and cudgelling, which were favourite sports in the colony.^a For this, we may forgive—we may even commend him; but it is not so easy to approve the motives which would invite a mob into his dining-room, where he was entertaining his friends, that he might be amused by their struggles for the viands before them.^b

After such an exhibition, we may be surprised to find Nicholson zealously promoting a scheme for establishing a permanent college in Virginia. This had often before been spoken of and attempted, but it was now to be crowned with success. James Blair was already in the colony—a learned and accomplished minister of the Established Church, holding the office of “commissary,” under the Bishop of London, and exercising a general superintendence over the spiritual interests of the people. A subscription was commenced for funds, and at its head appeared the names of the Lieutenant-Governor and several members of Council, giving large amounts to the proposed object. In a short time, two thousand five hundred pounds were raised: all persons seemed eager to aid; merchants in London came forward in the cause; and so flattering did the prospect appear, that Mr. Blair was sent to England to solicit a charter, and implore the aid of the reigning powers. William and Mary received the applica-

^a Beverley, 87; Keith, 168; Burk, ii. 312; Grahame, iii. 7.

^b This is related by Sir William Keith, 168.

tion with distinguished favour. (1691.) The charter was immediately granted, in accordance with the views of the commissary, and a more substantial proof of royal bounty was given. The balance due upon quit-rents in the colony, amounting to nearly two thousand pounds sterling, was released for the benefit of the college; twenty thousand acres of "choice land" were set apart for its support, and a revenue of one penny per pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, to the other American plantations, swelled the funds intended for its endowment.^a

Thus rose into being the College of "William and Mary." The Middle Plantation was selected for its site, and ample edifices were soon in a course of preparation. Commissary Blair was the first President; and the institution was entitled to a representative in the House of Burgesses.^b They taught, first, "three things—divinity, languages, and natural philosophy;"^c a divinity shaped and moulded at every point by the liturgy and creed of the English Church; languages, which filled the college walls with schoolboys hating Greek

^a Beverley, 88; Keith, 168, 169; Campbell, 88, 89; Burk, ii. 312–314; Frost's Pict. Hist. U. S., i. 125; Hawks's Eccl. Hist. Va., 73–75.

^b Appendix, in Burk, ii. 15; Beverley, 230; Outline, in Howe, 325. In the Assembly of 1693, two acts were passed; one establishing the college at Middle Plantation, and the other imposing for its support a tax on sundry skins, to wit: raw-hides, buck-skins, doe-skins, otter-skins, wildcat-skins, minx-skins, fox-skins, raccoon-skins, muskrat-skins, and elk-skins.—Acts iii. and iv., Henning, iii. 122, 123. These wild animals paid a severe tax to the cause of education.

^c Beverley, 88.

and Latin grammars; and natural philosophy, which was but just learning to believe that the earth revolved round the sun, rather than the sun round the earth.^a But the College of William and Mary has long been the cherished child of Virginia. She yields in antiquity to none of her sisters, except Harvard University, in Massachusetts; and it would be difficult to find an institution of learning from which have issued so many men who might lay claim to renown, for eminent ability united with ardent patriotism.

Francis Nicholson received from the Assembly a present of three hundred pounds, in token of their love. Before he would accept it, he obtained a dispensation from the King; it being an established rule that the Governor should take nothing from the legislature of the province. When all obstacles were removed, he bestowed one-half of the amount upon the college, in addition to the sum he had already subscribed.^b

In 1692, Sir Edmund Andros arrived, with the complete title of Governor-in-Chief. Nicholson was transferred to Maryland, where he administered affairs during several succeeding years. Andros was not a stranger in America. He had tormented New York; and had weighed, like an incubus, upon the happiness of New England. Connecticut had snatched her charter almost from his hand, to commit it to a more faithful guardian; and Massachusetts had seized and imprisoned him, in

^a In 1686, Sir Isaac Newton published his "Principia," demonstrating the law of gravitation.

^b Burk, ii. 314; Beverley, 88.

an outburst of generous anger at his tyranny. It is strange that such a man should have been again selected by an English king to represent him in the colonies; and it is still more strange, that on arrival and during his stay, he should have carried himself as became a zealous, wise, and moderate officer. Whether experience had taught him wisdom, or advancing years had calmed the heat of youth, or he found no pretext for the exercise of arbitrary power, we know not; but all authorities agree in declaring, that his administration was a season of unwonted prosperity in Virginia. His manners were conciliatory, rather than forbidding; he was active in promoting schemes of useful labour; he encouraged manufactures, incited the planters to the cultivation of cotton, and gave his assent to an act establishing the first fulling-mills ever known in the settlement. He carried his love of order into the public departments; and, finding the documents and papers in the several offices mingled together in frightful confusion, torn, soiled, and eaten of moths, he commenced a reform, and urged it with much vigour and success.^a His efforts were unhappily retarded by a fire, which destroyed much that had been done; but he experienced no abatement in his zeal, and in a short time the state-house again began to rise from its ashes. In these salutary labours, years rolled silently but prosperously away. Laws were revised, education was fostered, the people were quiet and contented. History, whose unhappy fate it is

^a Beverley, 91; Burk, ii. 317, in note.

to dwell chiefly on the wars, the hatred, and the misfortunes of men, finds little to record of Andros in Virginia, except her approval of his conduct, and her surprise at his happy change of character.^a

(Dec. 9.) In 1698, Sir Francis Nicholson was again transferred from Maryland to Virginia, and the dignity of Governor-in-Chief was bestowed upon him. An unfavourable change in his temper towards the colony was soon exhibited. That he possessed great pliancy of manners, may be inferred from what has already been said of him. He now no longer wore the smooth brow and complacent smile that had won so many hearts during his previous government. Ambition had crept into his soul, and gradually possessed all of its active faculties. We have strong reason to believe that he had formed the design of effecting a union of all the American colonies under one head, and of obtaining for himself the high office of Governor-General.^b His local knowledge, his restless talents, his popular arts, all combined to fit him for success in this scheme; but the watchfulness of his colonial charge entirely defeated him.

He looked with little favour upon domestic manufactures. Knowing that upon England must depend the accomplishment of his ambitious plan, he

^a Grahame, iii. 9, 10; Keith, 169, 170; Beverley, 90, 91; Burk, ii. 316, 317; Bancroft, iii. 25; Outline, in Howe, 86; Campbell, 91, and 220; Holmes's Annals, i. 468. During the prior administration of Nicholson, and that of Andros, farther

attempts were made to promote the growth of "towns," by acts of cohabitation, but they met with small success.

^b Beverley, 92, 93; Burk, ii. 319; Grahame, iii. 10, 11.

now frowned upon all measures, the tendency of which was to render the colonies *independent* of their mother. This course involved him in an inconsistency which has not escaped a cotemporary observer. He had previously complained that the price of tobacco was so low that it would not purchase in England clothes for the planters; and in the same memorial he afterwards urges Parliament to pass an act forbidding the colonists to make their own clothing, "thus desiring," saith Beverley, "a charitable law that the planters shall go naked."^a It was, perchance, the same aspiring vanity, which induced Nicholson to transfer the seat of government from Jamestown to the Middle Plantation. He flattered himself with the hope of being the founder of a city. Under his own eye the streets were marked so as to form the letter W; and King William, it may be, was the more flattered, because this arrangement was at once the most uncommon and inconvenient that could have been selected. The new town bore the name of Williamsburg. The college buildings were already complete; and opposite to them soon arose a stately edifice, which the Governor dignified with the title of "the Capitol."^b

(1700.) The Governor, though vain and designing, was a man of promptness and energy. An incident occurred in his time which deserves to be recorded. For some years the coast of America had been infested by a band of pirates, generally leagued to-

^a Hist. Va., 92. Vide Burk, ii. 327. the sketch in Howe's Historical Col-

^b Beverley, 93; Keith, 171. See lection, 321.

gether, who made the secret harbours of the continent and of the West India Islands their places of concealment. As mercantile shipping increased, the temptations to this mode of life were multiplied, and the absence of a heavy naval force in these waters gave confidence to the outlaws. Several merchantmen, which had been trading in the rivers of Virginia, had fallen down to Lynhaven Bay on the outward voyage. A pirate ship, cruising out of the capes, with consummate audacity, ventured into the bay and seized several prizes in full view of a small vessel bound up James River. But this insolence was speedily chastised. By a fortunate direction of events, the *Shoram*, a fifth rate English man-of-war had but just arrived, and Captain Passenger was paying his respects to the Governor when the account of the late capture was received. The Captain immediately returned to his ship, whither he was soon followed by Nicholson himself, and at night the anchor was weighed and they proceeded down the river. At daybreak they encountered the pirate just between the capes. A desperate struggle ensued; the outlaws fought with all the resolution of despair; the ships were nearly equal in size, and for ten hours the conflict was undecided; but at length the pirates were compelled to strike their colours, and surrender themselves unconditionally to the mercy of the King.^a

^a Beverley, 94, 95, from whom I obtain this account, makes some remarks intimating doubt as to Governor Nicholson's zeal or courage in this matter; but it is certain that the Governor was aboard the *Sho-*

It had been better for the fame of Nicholson, had he always confined his energies to contests with piratical cruisers. Still intent upon his scheme for uniting the colonies, he had recommended to the Court of England a project for erecting and maintaining forts along the western frontier of the state of New York. In order fully to comprehend this plan, it should be remembered, that England and France had waged a bloody war from 1689 to 1697, when it was terminated by the peace of Ryswick. (1702.) Queen Anne had not long been seated upon the throne, ere hostilities recommenced, and the memorable contest followed, in which Marlborough led the allied armies to certain triumph over the hosts of France.

America could not be tranquil while a conflagration was raging that affected the two powers most deeply interested in her soil. The Count de Calliers, Governor of Montreal, had already made a strenuous effort to divide the British strength, by a blow aimed at the middle province of New York; and though he had been unsuccessful, yet his plan was too imposing to be forgotten by either party.^a Count Frontenac, the French Governor-in-Chief, saw the importance of this point, and constantly menaced New York with an irruption of his own forces and their Indian allies. Virginia had here-

ram during the whole affair, though he willingly yielded the honour of the fight to Captain Passenger. See Act of Assembly against Pirates, in 1699, Hening, iii. 176, 177.

^a Burk, ii. 320-322; Marshall's Am. Colon., i. 189.

tofore remained an undisturbed spectator of the contest; the tide of general war had not yet reached her borders; but she was not always to enjoy this security.

In 1695, England had proposed a plan of general defence for the colonies, by which each was to contribute in men and military supplies according to its population; but this scheme did not take effect, inasmuch as every colony desired to employ its means in a manner indicated by its own comparative danger or safety.^a When the war was renewed, New York again became the object of attack on the one side, and defence on the other. Early in his present administration, Nicholson had proposed to the General Assembly of Virginia, that they should appropriate a sum of money to build a strong fort in the western border of the threatened colony. After due deliberation, they determined to decline this expenditure, and when their resolve was made known, the Governor was overwhelmed with astonishment and chagrin. He immediately addressed a report to the King, presenting in the strongest light the importance of the measure he wished, and he so operated on the mind of majesty, that William urged the Assembly to reconsider their vote and grant the money. We cannot fail to be struck with the firm conduct of this provincial body, under the influence of a monarch's *advice*. They replied that they saw no reason to change their former view; that neither the existing

^a Marshall's Am. Colon., i. 196; Burk, ii. 322.

forts nor any others, that could be built, would in the slightest degree protect Virginia, because both French and Indians might pour their destructive masses upon her, and yet not approach within a hundred miles of these fortresses; should she therefore comply with the Governor's wish, she would be weakening her own resources, and increasing rather than diminishing her danger.^a

To these conclusive arguments, no farther objection was made by the English Court. Queen Anne was content, but Nicholson was not. The reason was obvious: he had a secret purpose to accomplish, to which ran counter the determined course of the Assembly; and from this time he appears to have conceived a steady hatred of Virginia and all her interests. Hastening to New York, he there took a prominent part in a farce, which deserves to be recorded only that it may be ridiculed. Professing to feel great contempt for the penurious spirit which, as he declared, had influenced Virginia, he did incontinently execute his own sealed note for the sum of nine hundred pounds, to be appropriated to the desired fortresses. This magnificent act was spread abroad by the tongue of Fame, that its author might gain popularity; but Nicholson, with wondrous wisdom, took a counter-bond from the person to whom his own note was given, by which it was agreed, that he should not be called upon for the nine hundred pounds until her majesty, Queen Anne, should

^a Beverley, 95, 96; Burk, ii. 323, 324; Outline in Howe, 87, 88.

have granted him that sum *out of the quit-rents of Virginia*.^a In point of fact, no portion of this money was ever paid.

When Sir Francis returned to his own province, his ill-humour exhibited itself in many captious proceedings. To detail them would be a task more of annoyance than of profit; but there is one feature in his conduct which cannot be passed in silence. One Colonel Quarry represented some of the interests of England in the colonies, and with him Nicholson joined in preparing and presenting a memorial to the Council of Trade in the mother country. In this luminous production, they took care first to trumpet forth praises of the Governor's generosity to New York; and in so doing, they gave currency to a falsehood as dishonouring as could have been invented.^b Not content with this, they proceeded to draw a portrait of Virginia character, representing her people as numerous and rich, and imbued with a dangerous republicanism, which required the sternest rebuke from the reigning powers. They urged immediate measures of

^a Beverley, 96; Outline, in Howe, 88; Burk, ii. 325. Mr. Burk greatly misrepresents Beverley by changing a single word in a sentence quoted from him. Beverley says, "I have heard him boast that he gave this money out of his own pocket, and only depended on the Queen's bounty to repay him. Though the money is not paid *by* him to this day," 96. This last clause is, evi-

dently, the historian's comment on Nicholson's boast; but Mr. Burk appears to attribute the whole to the Governor, and quotes thus: "though the money is not paid *to* him to this day," ii. 325. The accurate reader will recognise the importance of this correction.

^b Memorial of Quarry, in Beverley, 97; Burk, ii. 325, 326.

restraint to check this growing spirit, and declared that a frown from the Queen would have the happiest effect. They spoke in plain terms of the necessity for a standing army to awe the rebellious, and implored that all the colonies should be united under one government, and subjected to the surveillance of a single viceroy.^a Such were the artful views of these unworthy slanderers. It is a source of the purest consolation to reflect that their advice was totally disregarded, and that one of the parties was speedily informed that her majesty could dispense with his services and his presence in her colony. Nicholson was displaced in the following year, (1704.)

On his removal, the office of Governor-in-chief of Virginia was bestowed upon the Earl of Orkney, who held it during thirty-six consecutive years, without once crossing the Atlantic.^b In 1705, Edward Nott arrived in the colony, and entered upon the duties of his place. He held a full commission from the Queen as Governor-General, in order to inspire the people with respect; but in truth, he was only the lieutenant of Orkney.^c The new officer ruled with mildness, and inspired

^a Memorial of Quarry, in Beverley, 97; Burk, ii. 326; Grahame, iii. 13; Bancroft, iii. 27-29. This memorial is preserved in the British Museum.

^b Sir William Keith mentions the practice of permitting the governor to reside in England, of giving him twelve hundred pounds for doing

nothing, and his lieutenant eight hundred pounds for doing all. Hist. of Va., 171. Yet he does not seem to disapprove of this. Vide Grahame, iii. 65, and in note; Oldmixon's Brit. Empire.

^c Beverley, 97; Burk, ii. 329; Campbell, 91.

universal respect. We mark, in his short career, nothing but measures for peace and happiness. A full revision of the laws, which had long been called for, now at length took place.^a Every department of colonial jurisprudence was remodelled, except that relating to the church and clergy, and here Mr. Commissary Blair made so many difficulties that the bill was dropped, and for a season entirely lost.^b One important change effected was, by the law making slaves real estate, instead of personal chattels, as they had theretofore been. This change was intended for the benefit of three deserving classes, orphans, widows, and the slaves themselves. Many of the incidents attaching upon personal property were yet retained, and it may be here mentioned, that this law, though wise in some respects, has been found inconvenient, and has long since been repealed.^c

Edward Nott did not live long enough to enjoy the happiness that his gentle rule tended to give to the colony. (1706.) He died in August of the next year, and was succeeded by Edmund Jennings, who, as President of the Council, assumed the duties of governor. The administration of Nott was universally approved, and during its course we have but to record a single painful inci-

^a This was the fifth revision since Henry II. of England. Hume, i. 158, the settlement of the colony. It edit. 1832, ch. viii. An established will be found in Hening, iii. 229 to clergy has seldom been content with 481. impartial laws.

^b Beverley, 98. Something near-
ly similar occurred in the reign of
^c It is in Hening, iii. 333-335, chap. 23; Beverley, 98; Burk, ii. 329.

dent, caused not by the agency of man, but by the direction of a higher power. By some unhappy accident, the College buildings took fire, at ten o'clock at night, in a time when a public meeting had convened in Williamsburg, and before the alarm was given, the flames had gained such strength that it was impossible to arrest them. The edifice was burned to the ground, and many years elapsed before this misfortune could be fully repaired.^a

Years now rolled quietly away, only to bring increased comfort and happiness to Virginia. Europe was involved in a terrific war, and the northern colonies sustained many of its heaviest strokes; but the "Old Dominion" was at peace, and was content to watch the progress of affairs, and to hold herself in readiness to do her duty, whatever it might be. So profound was the calm reigning in her bosom, that the intervention of an Assembly was never required to amend existing laws, or to interpose between the governor and his people.

It is believed that Brigadier General Robert Hunter received a commission as lieutenant of Lord Orkney, and was actually on his way to the colony, when his ship was captured by a French man-of-war, and he was carried a prisoner into France.^b (June 23.) In 1710, a gentleman arrived to assume the reins of her government, whose memory Virginia will ever rejoice to cherish with

^a Present State of Virginia, in Beverley, viii. 232; Burk's Appendix, ii. 16. ^b Beverley, 98, 99; Burk, ii. 330.

gratitude and pride. Alexander Spotswood was born of Scottish parents, in Tangier, in Africa, and his earliest years were passed amid the scenes of the camp and the bivouac.^a He delighted in his profession, and bestowed upon it the close study of an acute and vigorous mind. His talent for the mathematics was remarkable, and a taste for drawing made him skilful in one of the highest duties of the military engineer. Although possessed of the courage and the accomplishments which in a peculiar manner fitted him for the life of a soldier, he had not neglected civil studies, and his well-trained intellect had mastered much of the learning necessary to the lawyer and the statesman.^b But perhaps his chief advantage consisted in his social and moral character, in which aspect it would not be easy to find one, of whom might be truly asserted so much that is good and so little that is evil. He came to Virginia after a time of active employment in the army of Britain. In the great battle of Blenheim, in which Marlborough annihilated, for a season, the strength of France, Colonel Spotswood received a dangerous wound in the breast by a musket-ball,^c but by skilful treatment he recovered, and before the war

^a Keith, 172.

is known by three distinct names.

^b Campbell, 91; Beverley, 99; Keith, 172; Burk, ii. 330, and iii. 101, 102; Oldmixon, ii. 401; Grahame, iii. 66.

"Telle fut la célèbre bataille qui, en France a le nom de Hochstet, en Allemagne de Pleintheim, et en Angleterre de Blenheim."—Voltaire,

^c Keith, 172, says, "the battle of Hockstadt." This celebrated conflict

Siècle de Louis XIV., ii. 127.

was ended he received the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor in the colony.

He had been a very short time in Virginia ere his active genius suggested plans for her improvement, which his industry hastened to carry into effect. A love of architectural grace displayed itself in the magazine which he caused to be built in Williamsburg; and when the Assembly, in accordance with an intention formed years before, voted money for the governor's house, Spotswood applied it with so much prudence and skill that none could regret its appropriation.^a

He devised improvements in the tobacco trade, by which the planters were to deposit their crops in public warehouses, at certain places, and to receive certificates of officers as to the amount and the quality. These certificates they could afterwards use as money; but though this plan was in many points convenient, the people did not like it, and after a time it fell into disuse. The planters could not endure the slightest approach to the hated "law of towns." It is wonderful that Virginia has ever had one hundred houses in juxtaposition.

The mind of the Governor, which had so long been engaged in the immense field of European politics, could not be confined to the narrow limits of a few colonial plantations. He reflected upon the broad lands, the forests, the rivers, and mountains of America, with astonishment and delight; and it

^a Keith, 172; Act in Hening, 1710, iii. 483. See Chalmers's *Revolt of Amer. Colon.* ii. 73, 74.

would appear that his fancy was already beginning to grasp some of her capacities for future greatness. He often turned his eyes to the west. A few daring pioneers had crossed the beautiful ridge of mountains which first opposed the progress of settlers, and the vast region of Orange was soon to yield a part of its domain to the claims of West Augusta.^a But the Alleghanies were still unexplored: their summits towered far above their eastern sisters, and the rugged precipices found among them discouraged the labours of the most enterprising and undaunted. Natural obstacles remained in all their pristine strength. Wolves, bears, and catamounts abounded in the fastnesses of this wild country; and the Indians on either side of the mountains were distinguished for their fierceness and their ability. But these difficulties, instead of discouraging the Governor, stimulated his zeal, and added to his design the attractive zest of novelty and hazard. He resolved to undertake an expedition for the purpose of exploring the country, and discovering its resources west of the rugged barrier that had hitherto bounded the hopes even of Anglo-Saxon adventurers.

When this object was made known, the General Assembly lent its aid, and made provision for its accomplishment. Some of the most enlightened

^a Under the name of Orange was first included all that part of Virginia lying west of the Blue Ridge. In 1738, the counties of Frederick and Augusta were created, covering the whole of this magnificent region.—Howe's Hist. Collections, 177. The valley was settled in 1732, by German families from Pennsylvania.—Kercheval's Hist. Valley, 64-66.

men in the settlement volunteered their services, and the chivalry of the "Old Dominion" eagerly enlisted in a cause promising so much of interest and excitement.^a A number sufficient to meet all enemies were soon assembled. They were well armed, and mounted on horses selected with a special view to the duty before them. At the head of this gallant array, Spotswood turned his face to the far West. Their course was seldom interrupted, and was almost a continued triumph. They marked carefully the resources of a country, which has since realized all the hopes they could have formed. The rich valley lying between the two chains of mountains was then covered with the wildness of nature, but it was already beautiful enough to attract a sensitive beholder. On reaching the base of the Alleghanies, they found it difficult to select a point at which ascent was practicable either to man or horse; but when, at length, they gained the summit, the view presented repaid them for their exertions. The point they had attained gave them a view of the splendid champaign country beyond;^b and those who have often enjoyed this prospect may conceive something of the pleasing wonder it excited in the minds of colonists beholding it for the first time. Not yet content with their achievement, they descended into the plains below; and, after satisfying themselves that America was indeed one of the favoured lands of Heaven, they returned to

^a Burk, ii. 331.^b Ibid. ii. 331.

the East to recount their discoveries to those who had not, in person, enjoyed them.^a

When the results of this expedition were made known in England, King George, who had succeeded Anne upon the throne, bestowed on Spotswood the honour of knighthood, and presented to him, as an appropriate device for his coat of arms, a small golden horse shoe, bearing the Latin inscription, "Sic jurat transcendere montes."^b The English Court was not entirely insensible to the value of an undertaking so materially affecting their dominion in America; and although this achievement became afterwards the occasion of an unhappy difference between its author and the ruling powers, yet it greatly added to his fame on either side of the Atlantic. It would be unjust to suppose that one so philosophical in his habits of thought as was the Governor, was content with

^a Grahame, iii. 67; Keith, 173; Governor Spotswood, and giving a Campbell, 91. The author of the Outline, in Howe, 89, says, he "effected a passage over *the Blue Ridge*;" but it was undoubtedly the Alleghany range that he crossed. Mr. Grahame calls him "Spottiswoode," but the original records give his own signature, "A. Spotswood." Hist. Docum., in Hening, iv. 546, 547, &c.

^b I give this incident on the authority of Howe's Outline History, p. 89. It has been to me a source of deep regret that I have not been able to procure the use of a very valuable manuscript, prepared by

history of the colony, from the time of his arrival, to a period near the date of his death. This MS. was carried to England some years ago, by Mr. Featherstonaugh, an English geologist, I believe, who travelled through America for scientific purposes. Besides other interesting matter from this work, we would have obtained an authentic account of a society, known as "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe."—Letter to the author, from John R. Spotswood, Esq., of Orange County, Virginia, dated March 25, 1846.

viewing his excursion in its physical aspect alone. He may have admired the mountains, been refreshed by the valleys, and rejoiced in the display of almost exhaustless natural wealth; but he could not forget the effect that the presence of man was to have in these fair regions. Although the war between France and England had been ended by the peace of Utrecht, concluded the preceding year, yet Alexander Spotswood could discern causes which would sooner or later renew the conflict, and he looked with the deepest interest to the broad valley of the Ohio, upon which the French had already thrown a glance of hope and preparation.

Few events now occurred to disturb the peace or impede the rapid growth of Virginia. Blessed with good laws, a representative government, and a chief deservedly popular, she pursued her course with steadiness and content. The Governor sought to meliorate the condition of the natives still living within their bounds, by sending competent and pure men among them, to inspire a love of order and civilization. He required that some of the children of the sachems, delivered up as hostages to the whites, should be admitted into William and Mary College, and instructed according to their necessities for future life.^a As his admi-

^a Keith, 172, 173; Burk, iii. 102; disputes with the Assembly. The Chalmers's Revolt of Am. Colon., ii. Burgesses from the counties of Virginia could not yet appreciate his expanded views, and complaints and recriminations on either side some- 74. Although Spotswood was beloved by the great body of the colonists, he was sometimes involved in

nistration passed away, we note a single incident to break in upon its happy monotony. Although often heavily chastised, pirates continued to infect the shores of America and prey upon defenceless merchantmen. At this period one character, in particular, distinguished himself by a course of ferocity even beyond that of the worst of his compeers. John Theach was his real name, but he was best known by the title of "Blackbeard," to which the hideous natural appendage that he wore gave him undisputed claim. He exhibited, in its most intense form, every cruel and revolting trait that could grace the character of a pirate. Fourteen wretched women were at once the instruments of his detestable pleasures, and the victims of his infernal passions. He often personated a fiend for the entertainment of his crew, and once gave them a scenic display intended to represent the regions of the damned!^a With him nothing was more common than the murder of his own men, whom he slew when heated to frenzy by rage and intemperance.

(1718.) This wretch had long been the scourge of the seas near the coasts of North Carolina and Virginia, and hitherto all efforts to bring him to justice had been unavailing. Governor Spotswood and the Assembly had proclaimed an ample reward for his capture, and when it was at length known

times crossed the Atlantic. The insolence of Spotswood," *Revolt Am. Colon.*, ii. 73; an expression betraying ignorance as well as injustice. Chalmers speaks of "the impudent" ^a *Grahame's Colon. Hist.* iii. 87.

that he had been seen off the coast, Lieutenant Maynard, commanding a small English ship of war in the waters of Virginia, hastened to find and attack him. (Nov. 21.) He discovered the pirate vessel watching for prey at the mouth of one of the dangerous inlets to Pamlico Sound, and immediate preparations were made for battle. Blackbeard saw that a decisive hour had arrived, and drinking deep draughts of ardent spirits to excite himself to desperation, he placed one of his men with a lighted match at the magazine, instructing him to blow up the ship should she be captured. The fight which followed was terrible, but Maynard and his heroic crew were victorious. When the outlaw chief found that his orders were not obeyed, he rose with a cocked pistol in his hand, but in the act of stepping back he fell to the deck and almost instantly expired. His body was covered with wounds, from which blood had flowed in streams around the spot where he stood.^a The rest of the pirates were taken, and, after solemn trial, they all met the fate their crimes deserved.^b

In the close of Spotswood's administration, a controversy respecting boundaries, which had long been pending between North Carolina and Virginia, was placed upon a ground which at least prevented the continuance of embittered feeling. This dispute had been so serious, that the Governor had found it necessary to forbid by proclamation any settlements in the doubtful territory be-

^a Grahame's Colon. Hist., iii. 89.

^b Oldmixon's Brit. Emp., i. 402.

yond the Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers.^a Commissioners were at length appointed on both sides, who surveyed the land and marked the bounds within which each colony was to have jurisdiction and control, leaving a small part yet to be appropriated. Among these commissioners was Colonel William Byrd, a Virginia gentleman of great wealth, respectable talents, and untiring industry, to whom our state is much indebted for the preservation of her ancient records. He kept a journal of the route and proceedings of the surveyors, which has descended to us, and which is replete with humour and good sense. After this survey, the controversy was in great measure ended, though legislation was from time to time applied to the subject.^b

Though Alexander Spotswood was beloved by all classes in the colony, he was by no means so highly regarded by the powers then ruling in England. Whether he was considered as too warm a friend of the people to be a decided friend to the King, we do not know; but he was often thwarted in his schemes, and disappointed in some of his most reasonable expectations. When he applied to the English government for a vote of money, to defray the expenses of his progress across the Alleghany Mountains, his claim was heard with coldness and displeasure. It was vain to urge that this undertaking had been very useful to the mother country, inasmuch as it developed the re-

^a Governor's Proclamation, in Henning's Hist. Doc., iv. 546, 547.

^b Burk, iii. 103, 104; Henning, iv. 175-177.

sources of her distant territory, and furnished her with the means of rendering it profitable. England was already deeply involved in debt, and she looked to her colonies rather for supplies, than as objects of expenditure. After a service of nearly thirteen years, Spotswood was removed, and his place was filled by Hugh Drysdale, of whom we know little and see little, except his signature to the acts of two sessions of the General Assembly.^a The former Governor did not leave the colony, but, retiring to his plantation near Germanna, in the newly created county of Spottsylvania,^b he passed many quiet days in mining and agricultural pursuits, surrounded by an attached family, and beloved even by the lower animals that his care had domesticated.^c When the alarm of war was again heard, in 1739, he was called from his retirement to take command of the colonial forces; but he died ere he was able to strike a blow in behalf of his adopted country.^d

Drysdale died on the 22d day of July, 1726, and, after a short season, during which the government was administered by Robert Carter, as President of the Council, William Gooch arrived, still empowered to serve only as lieutenant of the im-

^a Hening, iv. 142, 181; Burk, iii. 96; Chalmers's *Revolt Amer. Colon.*, ii. 79, 80. He dates Drysdale's accession in 1722.

^b Act of 1720, Hening, iv. 77. One of the boundary lines of Spottsylvania then ran "through the high mountains," to the head of Rappahannoc River.

^c Read an extract from Colonel Byrd's *Progress to the Mines*, written in 1732, in Howe's *Hist. Collec.*, 476.

^d Burk, iii. 101; Campbell, 94; Outline, in Howe, 89.

mortal Orkney.^a (1727, Oct.) From this period, the observant reader of American history will mark an interesting change in the feelings and policy of the several provinces, in their intercourse with each other. In their childhood, they had shown little disposition to unite in bonds of friendship. They had in truth manifested but too much of the petulant jealousy which children are prone to exhibit in their days of juvenile folly. As the settlements grew older, they were kept apart by a consciousness of conflicting interests. Their trade was fettered, and their hearts were rendered cold, by the unfeeling policy of their common mother. But when their eyes were gradually opened to their own strength and importance, they began to cast off these unworthy doubts, and to regard each other with ever-growing confidence. They stood erect; and feeling within themselves the development of those energies which have since rendered them so formidable, they exchanged salutations of mutual pride and friendship. The coalescing movement began at the North, where the Puritan colonies had long been known under the common bond of New England, and gradually the generous feeling made its way to the South. New York, Pennsylvania, and their young sisters on the Atlantic—Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia—no longer regarded each other as rivals, but began to interchange expressions and deeds of

^a List of Governors, on first page of Hening, vol. iv. Burk and Campbell say nothing of Carter. Chalmers's *Revolt Am. Colon.*, ii. 161.

fraternal love. It may be, that the American settlements were not yet conscious of the pressure of that golden chain of sympathy, which was at last to unite them never to be sundered; but they were already alive to influences which induced each, at once, to extend to the others the hand of confidence and affection.

William Gooch was one of the most popular governors that ever blessed the colony over which he presided. His urbane manners were the open expression of a warm and generous heart. If his conduct was sometimes tinged with a shade of intolerance, there was much in the events surrounding him to produce it. It was now a favourite policy of England to appoint military officers to administer the affairs of her provinces. The troubled state of Europe rendered war either a present or a rapidly approaching evil; and it was no longer possible to confine the heat of human passions to the ancient world. Gooch was a brigadier-general in the English service. When the far-famed expedition against the Spanish town of Carthagena was projected, Virginia and North Carolina were called upon for supplies of armed men, and they furnished them without delay.^a (1741.) The brave Governor himself headed the forces from Virginia, and embarked in the transports that attended the naval command of Admiral Vernon. To relate minutely all the events of this disastrous expedition, would be foreign to our present subject; but many hearts

^a Chalmers's *Revolt of Am. Col.*, ii. 198, 199; Campbell, 94; Burk, iii. 101, 104; Grahame, iii. 212.

in the colony long mourned the losses it produced. Vernon was brave, but he was possessed neither of the skill nor of the self-command requisite for success. The military and naval chiefs lost precious hours in idle disputes, and sacrificed more precious lives in rash endeavours. The fire of the enemy cut down comparatively few, but a more fearful foe assailed them: disease preyed upon their strength; fatal fevers swept them away by thousands; gloom filled their souls, and all energetic effort was at once destroyed. In melancholy condition they weighed their anchors, and left the spot which had been to them a scene of continued defeat and mortality.^a

A short time after the Governor's return, an Assembly convened, embracing an unusually large number of members, and much excited by recent events. Gooch addressed them in a speech full of military spirit. The war in which King George the Second was engaged was lauded in strong terms, and the burgesses were entreated to make suitable provision for maintaining it, to build forts, to encourage the importation of powder and ball, and to appoint annual salaries for gunners and engineers. But the legislature was not yet prepared to commit their state so fully in the contest. They returned a polite answer to the Governor, assuring

^a Campbell, 94; Outline, in Howe, 89; Burk, iii. 104; Grahame, iii. 213; Smollett's Contin. of Hume, viii. 257-260, chap. 7. The reader will recall the expressive lines of Thomson:

"Such as of late at Carthagea quenched

The British fire. You, gallant Vernon!
saw
The miserable scene. * * * * *
* * * * * you heard the groans
Of agonizing ships from shore to shore;
Heard nightly plunged amid the sullen
waves
The frequent corse."

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him of their patriotic wish to defend the country; but they passed no act for the purposes he had so strenuously urged upon them.^a They were more attentive to measures of peace than of war. At this session was passed an act establishing the town of Richmond, on land owned by Colonel Byrd, and beautifully disposed in successive hills extending nearly to the banks of James River.^b The town grew slowly until 1779, when the seat of government was transferred thither from Williamsburg, and then immediately it assumed a prominence which has ever since been retained.

(1743.) In the next year, the College lost its president, and the country a valued citizen. James Blair had been educated under the best influences of Scottish literature, yet had he retained his attachment to the English Church. He may be called the father of systematized learning in Virginia; and if he had an abiding admiration for the privileges and dignities of the clergy, he was able to unite with it an ardent love of freedom, and a strong desire to see letters flourish in America. These two last-mentioned things were inseparably connected. Every oppressor hated learning and opposed its progress.^c (Nov. 4.) The death of Blair was fol-

^a Burk, iii. 105.

^b Burk, iii. 105. Colonel Byrd owned a warehouse which occupied a spot very near the site of the present Exchange Hotel, in Richmond. Vide Howe's Hist. Collec., 304; Ordinances of Richmond City, 1-4.

^c Chalmers calls Blair, "the Bishop

of London's seditious commissary,"

Revolt Am. Colon., ii. 73. It will not be impertinent to give here one closing sentence from Sir William Keith, to show what were *his* sentiments on this point. "Although great advantages may accrue to the mother state, both from the labour

lowed in a short time by that of another man, whose name deserves a high place in the records of colonial improvement. William Byrd was immensely rich, and his habits manifested a tendency to profusion and luxury; but wealth did not enervate his character; he was constantly active, and exerted himself in many plans for the welfare of a people whom he truly loved. Cold indeed must be the heart that will not accord to such a man the praise of having deserved well at the hands both of those who knew and of those who survived him.^a

In the huge county of West Augusta, a serious conflict occurred between a band of Shawanese Indians and a company of militia, under Captain McDowell. At the first fire, the Captain and seven of his men fell dead on the spot; and before the whites could recover from the shock, another volley was poured in by the natives with fatal effect. We know not how to account for the want of courage shown by the colonists on this occasion: the savages were even permitted to carry off their dead and the scalps of their lifeless victims. No immediate march against them took place, and the frontier settlements in the valley were agitated with fears of Indian massacre.^b Happily, however, the evil day was yet deferred for a time; a treaty was

and luxury of its plantations, yet they will probably be mistaken who

imagine that the advancement of literature, and the improvement of arts and sciences, in our American

Colonies, can ever be of any service to the British state!"—Remarks on

Trade and Government of Virginia, 187.

^a Campbell, 95, 96; Burk, iii. 114; Outline, in Howe, 89, 90, and Hist. Collec., 304.

^b Campbell, 95, says in 1742; Burk, iii. 110, says 1743. Chalmers's

concluded with the hostile tribe, who were already under the influence of the Six Nations ; the hatchet was buried, the silver chain was brightened, and peace was solemnly declared to exist between the belligerents.^a

As the minds of men became expanded by knowledge, toleration for the opinions of others on religious subjects had been gradually established. Yet the very existence of this word "toleration" will prove how far public opinion yet fell below freedom and truth. No insolence can exceed that of human governments which have declared their purpose to "tolerate" what the laws of God have placed beyond their control. It would be wiser in them to announce *toleration* to the course of the sun in the heavens! Governor Gooch was religiously inclined, but his religion was bounded by the rubric ; he knew some Scripture, but it was all from the English Prayer Book. (1745.) In the midst of his administration, there appeared in the colony a large number of fanatics, composed of Methodists, Moravians, Quakers, and a sect known as New-light Presbyterians. What these last-named persons believed is not certainly known, but they were doubtless impressed with the delusive hope, that an immediate revelation had been made to them by the Deity—a hope which, from the death of the Apostles to the present hour, has been invariably productive of folly and crime in

notice of this skirmish will mislead ^a Colden's Five Nations, in Burk, the incautious reader. *Revolt Am.* iii. 112.
Col., ii. 201.

those encouraging it, and of relentless persecution in church authorities. These wild declaimers spread themselves abroad, preaching their doctrines to all who would listen. We do not learn that they were guilty of any deeds adverse to the substantial interests of the state. If they were disorderly, they were amenable to police regulations; if they were rebellious, Virginia had a law of treason. No unwonted rigour seemed to be required. In later and happier times, the flames of their zeal would have been permitted to expire for want of fuel. Resistance tended only to make them more determined and enthusiastic. (April 25.) But the Governor was greatly scandalized by their course, and at the next meeting of the General Court, he proceeded to deliver an edifying charge to the Grand Jury, directing their thoughts to these persons, and urging them to present or indict them under the laws requiring conformity. The chief offence of these hapless dreamers seems to have consisted in the doctrine, that salvation was not to be obtained in any communion except their own.^a Of this the Governor complained; but he might with justice have been reminded, that such doctrine was neither unknown to nor unapproved by many in the church to which he adhered with all his powers, both of mind and body.

The whole of this charge has been preserved,^b

^a Governor's charge to Grand Jury, in Burk, iii. 119. See Camp-
bell, 96, 98; Outline, in Howe, 90; Hawks's Eccles. History of Vir-
ginia, 110.

^b In Burk, iii. 119 to 121.

and may be read with profit by those who wish to study one of the closing pages of American intolerance. It shall here be passed, with the remark, that unless the worthy Governor generally wrote more correctly, neither his rhetoric nor his thought merited the commendation which Mr. Burk has been pleased to bestow upon them.^a We find afterwards a proclamation, issued by Gooch, against Romish priests who might come from Maryland.^b He had no love for any rational creature that pretended to think differently from his church on the subject of religion; and it deserves to be noted, that he was sustained by men who were afterwards among the sternest supporters of freedom in all her expansion. The General Assembly passed laws against Moravians, New-lights, and Methodists, and the name of Pendleton appears among those who approved the Governor's counsel.^c

It may be that their minds had been stimulated to undue severity by events which had lately shaken the mother country to her centre. Charles Edward, the young popish pretender to a throne from which his popish ancestor had been driven nearly a half century before, had landed in Scotland under the favouring eye of France. Highland clans had flocked to his standard, and in two battles their resistless onset had broken English armies to pieces. (1746, April 27.) But the re-

^a Hist. Va., iii. 136.

^b Burk, iii. 125.

^c Outline, in Howe, 90; Burk, iii. 122, 123, and 125.

verse came. The Duke of Cumberland was in the field, and at Culloden the hopes of the Roman Catholic party in the English realm were for ever crushed. (Oct. 10.) The Pretender fled again to France, after wandering for a time in imminent hazard amid the caves and fastnesses of the country over which he had hoped to reign.^a When news of his first progress in Scotland reached Virginia, she hastened to express her loyalty to the King, and her resolve to resist with all her strength the effort of the Pretender;^b and when his overthrow was announced, sincere joy pervaded every class of her people.

During the recess of the Assembly in this year, an incendiary fired the Capitol, and before the flames could be arrested, the building was almost totally destroyed. The Governor considered this disaster a sufficient reason for summoning the Assembly to meet at the College, previous to the time to which they had been prorogued. When they had convened, a grave question presented itself for debate. The rapidly extending population of Virginia had already pressed into the valley beyond the first range of mountains, and the burgesses from Augusta and Frederick would willingly have had the seat of government nearer to their homes. Others were equally in favour of removal, and the late conflagration gave them a fair ground on which

^a Voltaire, *Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.*, v. 10-28; Smollett's *Continuation of Hume*, viii. chap. xi., 347-351. ^b Grahame, iii. 286; Burk, iii. 123, 124.

to base their proposal. But it was soon found that ponderous obstacles would oppose any such scheme. The Governor had purchased property in Williamsburg, which derived its chief value from the presence of government business and officers, and in the Council and Legislature there were not a few who deprecated a removal from motives nearly allied to selfishness. It was vain to oppose strong reasons and soothing flattery to the arguments of such a monitor as Mammon. The Assembly adjourned without any decision on this point, and when, two years afterwards, the subject was renewed, the Governor threw off all reserve, declared himself against the change, and in a short time a heavy majority of members appeared on his side.^a Nothing therefore remained but to rebuild the Capitol, and guard it more securely for future time.

(1748.) But though unwilling to commence a new town in person, the Assembly was disposed to encourage others in efforts at "cohabitation." Petersburg and Blandford were established: of which the first has become a flourishing mart, and the last has degenerated into a mere appendage.^b Sites for other towns were selected in Augusta, in King William, and in Fairfax; but these remained "in paper," and have not gathered to themselves the more substantial materials of wood and stone.

^a Burk, iii. 126, 127, and 133; ^b Campbell, 99; Burk, iii. 135; Campbell, 98, 99; Chalmers's Revolt. Howe's Hist. Collec., 243. Am. Col., ii. 201, 202.

Another revisal of the laws was projected, and an able committee appointed for the purpose.^a

Thus Virginia enjoyed peace without and within. She had felt but lightly the hand of war, which had pressed with so much force upon her sisters in the North. When the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded, and France and England, for a season, laid aside their arms, Virginia experienced no change in her internal economy, and recognised the treaty only to deplore, with the other American settlements, the shameful submission, which had yielded up to France the dearly-bought prize of colonial heroism.^b

Governor Gooch now prepared to leave America, and assume a permanent abode in the mother country. He had presided over the destinies of Virginia during more than twenty-two years, and there were few of her inhabitants who did not respect him as a friend and even love him as a father. His family were linked by many tender ties to the children of the soil, and his name is still known to be esteemed in the "Old Dominion." Just before his departure, the President and Council, accompanied by the officers of the College, and of the town, paid him a visit, and one selected from among them delivered an address, expressive of

^a The members were Peyton Randolph, Philip Ludwell, Beverley Whiting, Carter Burwell, and Benjamin Waller.—Delaplaine's Repos. Dict. Am., Part ii. 108; Campbell, 99; Burk, iii. 135.

^b That is, Cape Breton, with the town of Louisbourg, which had been captured by forces principally from New England, in 1745.—Bancroft, iii. 463-466; Burk, iii. 132; Grahame, iii. 305.

their feelings on parting with their long-trying superior. We cannot doubt the sincerity of the tokens of sorrow every where shown on this occasion. The Governor had been firm, yet gentle; sound in his views; moderate in his measures; cordial in his intercourse with all who approached him. When, on the 14th August, 1749, he embarked for his voyage to England, many, by tears and audible blessings, gave proof of the extent to which he had enlisted their affections.^a

Mr. Robinson, President of the Council, succeeded to the administration of affairs; but he had held his office a very few days ere he was removed by death, and the duties devolved upon Thomas Lee, who had followed Robinson in the presidency. Mr. Lee was a gentleman of talents and influence, and it is probable he would have been permanently appointed to the office of Lieutenant-Governor, had his life been spared.^b In England, Lord Albemarle had followed Orkney, as Governor-in-chief. Louis Burwell, as President of Council, administered the government of Virginia during more than a year. While residing in England, he had sustained a severe injury of the head, by a fall from his horse, and had been compelled to undergo the painful operation of the trepan. His habits had been studious, but from the time of this accident, he was subject to attacks of mental aliena-

^a Burk, iii. 136, 137; Campbell, "The present Lieutenant-Governor, 99; Outline, in Howe, 90. Sir Wil- Major Gouge."—Hist. of Va., 174.
liam Keith has given this excellent ^b This Governor was the father of
Governor a flattering cognomen: Richard Henry Lee, Burk, iii. 139.

tion, which greatly affected his general capacity for business.^a (1751.) History can record in his administration, no event more important than the building of a theatre at Williamsburg, by a company of comedians from New York, who felt a laudable desire to present some of the charms of the drama to the dull burgesses of Virginia Plantations.^b

In 1752, Robert Dinwiddie arrived in the colony, with a full commission to preside over her counsels as her Lieutenant-Governor. Originally a clerk in a custom-house in one of the British West India Islands, he had powerfully commended himself to favour, by discovering a vast system of fraud, which had long been practised by his superiors. For this, he was rewarded by an appointment to Virginia, and immediately took possession of his novel honours.^c But it would be premature farther to speak of his character or his conduct. His name will instantly recall to our minds a period pregnant with important deeds and grand developments. A new era opens to our view; great names are now to be recorded, and great events are to attend upon them. A hero is to appear, to whom the centuries of the past had produced no prototype; and, as he enters upon the stage of being, we are not surprised to find him surrounded by the light of a purer civilization—a more exalted philanthropy!

^a Burk, iii. 141.

^b *Ibid.*, iii. 140.

^c Burk, iii. 222; Outline, in Howe,

CHAPTER VIII.

Improvement in the colonies—Progress of knowledge—Benjamin Franklin—French and English possessions in America—Encroachments of the French—Ohio Company—French Fort on the River Le Bœuf—George Washington—Sent by Governor Dinwiddie to the French commander on the Ohio—His danger—His return—Preparations for war—Fort Duquesne—Washington advances—Defeat and death of M. Jumonville—The Great Meadows—Fort Necessity attacked by French and Indians—Gallant defence—Honourable capitulation—Dinwiddie's wild plans—La Force, the prisoner—Major-General Edward Braddock—His army marches from Fort Cumberland—Difficulties of the way—Washington's advice—Braddock's confidence—Passage of the Monongahela—A battle in the forest—Total defeat of the English army—Danger of Washington—Death of General Braddock—Colonel Dunbar retires to Philadelphia—Indian cruelties on the frontier of Virginia—Prowess of Samuel Bingham—Washington's distress—Lord Loudon commander-in-chief—Governor Dinwiddie leaves the colony—His character—Francis Fauquier—William Pitt Prime Minister of England—General Forbes marches against Fort Duquesne—Defeat of Major Grant—Heroism of Captain Bullet and his men—Capture of Fort Duquesne—Burial of the remains of Braddock's army—Campaigns of 1758, 1759—Successes of England—Peace of Paris in 1763.

As the English colonies in America increased in importance to the mother country, they began also to feel the glowing impulses which were at work in their own bosoms. Within the past century Europe had made enormous strides in the march of science and civilization. Star after star had appeared above her horizon, to add brilliancy to her intellectual heavens, until it seemed at length as though all minor lights had been quenched in

the blaze of a sun that had risen never to decline. For many years America had felt but feebly the beams that were darting from every point of her mother's countenance. She had not improved in mind as she had expanded in body. But now a change, natural, but rapid and wondrous, was to be developed. The sun of learning did not, indeed, recede from the east, but as he ascended higher in the heavens his rays began to illumine the western world. The time of infancy had passed ; the struggle for existence was happily over ; the great battle with the spirit of the wilderness had been fought, and the victory was won. America did not pause in her onward course, but she had now secured the necessary and the useful, and she turned with the eagerness of new desire to the comforts and elegancies of social life. The arts grew in strength as though born upon her soil. Men of science successively arose, and already one was breathing her air before whom succeeding ages have rejoiced to kneel and be instructed. Printing presses began to send forth the thoughts of her own children, not drawn from the mind of the old world, but engendered by the inspiration of a life more fresh, more vigorous, and more free. In the great science which teaches the rights of man and the method of securing them, she was already far beyond the fettered sages of the best and wisest governments then known to European kingdoms.

As the colonies thus grew in general intelligence, they approached nearer to each other, and encouraged each co-attractive principle acting upon them.

More than a century before, the northern settlements had formed a sisterhood that had tended powerfully to increase their influence, their welfare, and moral power.^a A plan for a more extended union had been proposed by Daniel Coxe, in 1741, and twelve years afterwards, Benjamin Franklin presented to a convention at Albany, a scheme which, if carried out, would have drawn into the closest embrace, all the sisters now so rapidly developing their charms upon the soil of America.^b But the time for this measure, although approaching, had not yet arrived. They were to feel a more powerful motive than that furnished by mutual love and a common country. They did not yet confederate, but the causes binding them to each other were already sufficiently strong to array them in a united front against the enemy who first assailed them.

This foe was France. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, so inglorious to England, so favourable to her opponents, had settled none of the disputed points between herself and her hereditary enemy. It had left undefined the boundaries of Nova Scotia, the limits of English jurisdiction west of the Alleghanies, the right of maritime seizure and search, the operation of international law upon the claims of both parties in the valley of the Ohio and

^a In 1643. Grahame's Colon. scheme is well known under the Hist., iii. 321. name of "The Albany Plan of

^b Grahame, iii. 377, 378. This Union."

Mississippi Rivers.^a It had indeed done nothing definite, except surrender Cape Breton to the enemy, and send two English freemen into France as hostages for England's good behaviour.^b It could not have been expected that such a peace could be long continued. It held out to both parties temptations to its rupture. To France it furnished stimulus to farther encroachment; to England it gave constant cause for disgust and discontent.

He who will accompany his review of the history of this period by a glance at the map of North America, as it was then divided, will see the critical state of affairs between the French and British interests, and the moral necessity urging them to a conflict. Along the whole Atlantic coast, from Halifax to Florida, the Anglo-American colonies were spread, and from the sea they extended to an indefinite and advancing line, that made yearly approaches to the Mississippi River. They were already powerful in population, in energy, in courage, and intelligence. They looked upon the land as their heritage, and were ready to contest the claims of all who should oppose their progress. The French held settlements upon the St. Lawrence to its mouth. They claimed a few bleak points on the coast of Acadia or Nova Scotia; and on the great lakes which now bound the English

^a Smollett's Continuation, viii. 22, 23; Bancroft, iii. 466, 467; 384, 385, 387; Grahame, iii. 305, Marshall's Am. Colon., 276.

306; Sparks's Life of Washington, i. ^b Grahame, iii. 305.

domain in Canada, they had established forts, and gathered around them villages and towns. But this constituted but a small part of their claim. While their traders and colonists were yet struggling with the rigours of a northern clime, Indian narratives had told them of a magnificent stream, that swept through the whole country, from the north even to the Gulf of the south, and which had drawn from savage admiration the name of "The Father of Waters." In 1673, Marquette, a Roman Catholic missionary, and Joliet, an envoy of the French government, in an open boat, with few attendants, had sailed down the Wisconsin and entered the great Mississippi. The one came to preach to the heathen the Gospel of the Prince of Peace; the other to explore and to assert title to their lands, as the appanage of an earthly monarch. Amid the silence of nature, they passed the mouths of the Missouri and the Ohio, nor did they arrest their course until they had claimed the river as their own, and could return to tell of the most beautiful valley in the world, added, by their enterprise, to the supposed possessions of their sovereign.^a Nine years afterwards, La Salle descended the river to its mouth.^b The country around received the name of Louisiana, from the reigning prince, and efforts were immediately made to plant

^a Bancroft, iii. 157, 161; Marshall, *Am. Colon.*, 277, dates this discovery in 1660. Sparks's *Life of Washington*, i. 22.

^b Bancroft, iii. 165; Marshall's *Am. Colon.*, 277.

colonists from the mother land upon this inviting soil.

Such had been the success of France in extending her discoveries in America. Her attempts at colonizing had not, however, corresponded with the activity of her movements. Although she had planted settlers in Acadia before Englishmen ever saw the site of Jamestown, yet she had been often called to mourn over decayed towns and withered hopes. The genius of her people did not fit them for the labour of the colonist. They wanted not industry, but they wanted perseverance. They were not deficient in courage, but they sank easily under opposing obstacles. A hard soil dismayed them, and from the labour of the axe and the plough they turned away in disgust. Pliant, excitable, and fond of novelty, they preferred to trade with and to live among the Indians, rather than to fell trees, to turn furrows, and to build towns. Their success with the children of the forest was remarkable. The polite and graceful Frenchman and the grim warrior of the west were quickly united in bonds of amity; and if we except the Six Nations, there were few tribes of America who did not yield more or less to the seductive influences of their allies from Gaul.^a But Indian friendship alone would not promote the interests of their colonies. Their progress in numbers, in wealth, and in general improvement, was slow—so slow, that by the middle of the eighteenth century the French

^a Mr. Burk's remarks, iii. 170, are judicious.

settlements from Louisiana to the mouth of the St. Lawrence numbered but fifty-two thousand souls,^a while between one and two millions were found upon the soil of the British colonies.

Notwithstanding this difference in numbers, the keen intellects which then governed France had not been slow in perceiving certain advantages of position, which, if properly used, would render their power formidable to British interests in America. By an extravagant construction of international law, they claimed the whole valley of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, by virtue of their discovery in 1673. They insisted that the discovery of a river gave title to all the country watered either by itself or its tributaries, and that therefore "the passing of Father Marquette down the Mississippi in a canoe, invested his sovereign with a title to the immense valley bounded by the Appalachian Mountains on the one side and the Rocky Mountains on the other."^b This claim, though perhaps not openly asserted, was secretly relied upon, and all the measures of the Court of Versailles tended to enforce it. They had long before resolved to link together their possessions in Louisiana and on the St. Lawrence by a chain of forts, which should extend along the line of the Ohio River, and which, if once permanently established, would have effectually shut in the English settle-

^a Statement in note to Marshall's Am. Colon., 279.

Washington, i. 23. See Chalmers's Revolt of Amer. Colon. ii. 266.

^b Jared Sparks, in his Life of

ments to the narrow limits between the Atlantic and the Alleghany Mountains.^a

Many years before, the acute mind of Alexander Spotswood had detected this scheme of French ambition, and had warned the English government to counteract it by commencing at once the erection of fortresses on the Ohio. He also advised the establishment of a company for the purpose of exploring this splendid country, and of selecting proper places for settlements or for trade with the natives.^b But his warning voice and his advice were alike neglected. Had they been acted upon, it may be that a bloody war might have been averted; but it is common for man to despise the counsels of wisdom, that he may taste the bitter fruits of folly. When at length information was received that the French had actually crossed Lake Champlain, and had built a fort at Crown Point, upon the soil of New York,^c the eyes of the English Ministry were opened to their designs, and they resolved to meet them with corresponding preparation.

One year after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Parliament of England created a corporation, upon which was bestowed the name of the Ohio Company.^d It was composed of merchants residing

^a Burk, iii. 169; Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 21; Marshall's Life of Washington, ii. 3; Grahame, iii. 359, 368; Smollett's Continuation, 488, vol. viii. George ii. chap. iii.

^b Campbell, 92; Burk, iii. 96-98; Grahame, iii. 360; Smollett's Continuation, viii. 488.

^c Smollett's Continuation, viii. 488; Grahame, iii. 360.

^d Holmes's Annals, ii. 39. This was in 1749. Grahame, iii. 344; Smollett's Continuation, viii. 489; Burk, iii. 170; Chalmers's Revolt Am. Colon. ii. 262.

in London, and of wealthy planters in Virginia, who desired to engage in profitable trade. Six hundred thousand acres of land, bordering upon the Ohio River, were granted to them, and they were likewise invested with the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians living within their bounds. This extensive grant was designed to carry out the scheme proposed by Spotswood, but it was unhappily managed, and it proved the immediate occasion of the fierce conflict which followed.

Eager to avail themselves of their privileges, the Company prepared to open the wilderness on either side of the Ohio. This was the disputed territory, for possession of which France and England were contending; and, in their stern rivalry, they forgot the claims of another people, who were yet strong enough to render dangerous their enmity.

The rights of the Indians had not been extinguished by purchases or treaties. They claimed the soil as occupants, and their rude settlements gave them a title which rigid justice would not have contemned.^a It would not have been difficult for the English to have conciliated the red men by kindness, and by a few judicious gifts. So much were they averse to the French, from whom they had already experienced harsh treatment, that they would willingly have united with the other party, had they received any encourage-

^a Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 23.

ment.^a But the avaricious corporation had no policy so generous in their view. They were intent upon gain, and thought not of Indian rights and feelings. Surveyors, with brazen instruments and measuring-chains, were speedily on the Ohio, marking the possessions to which the Company intended to lay claim. When the hapless natives saw these well-known insignia, their hearts sank within them. Driven backward from the ocean, they had hoped for peace in the deep valley beyond the mountains, and now they beheld the omens of certain destruction still approaching their fields and hunting grounds. It is not wonderful that we read of a question proposed by two Indian sachems to Gist, the agent of the Ohio Company, while he was pursuing his surveys, upon this soil. "Where," they asked, "lay the *Indians'* lands? for the French claim all on one side of the Ohio, and the English all on the other side."^b There was a deep and bitter irony concealed in this question, which was soon to be merged in feelings more infuriated and relentless; but the agents of the Company gave no explanation to the savage diplomatists. They observed profound mystery as to their design, finished their surveys, and returned to the east without molestation.

The crisis now approached. The French authorities on the Lakes sent forces towards the Ohio, and in a short time intelligence reached Williamsburg, that a fort had been built on the river Le

^a Burk, iii. 170, 171; Grahame, iii. 345; Smollett, viii. 489, 490.

^b Sparks's *Life of Washington*, i. 23.

Boëuf, which takes its rise not far from Lake Erie, and is discharged into the Ohio. When the English government were informed of these and prior encroachments, they made fruitless complaints to the ambassador of France; but while negotiations were yet pending, they instructed the colonies to defend themselves, to repel force by force, to build two forts on the river, and to hold themselves ready for hostilities. Thirty pieces of light cannon and eighty barrels of powder accompanied these instructions to Virginia,^a and all parties felt that a collision must soon take place. Determined to proceed by fair and pacific measures, Governor Dinwiddie prepared, as a final resource, to send a message to the French commandant on the Ohio, to remonstrate against his intrusion, and to warn him that war was inevitable unless he withdrew.^b

For this hazardous and delicate duty a young Virginian was selected, who had but just attained his twenty-first year. Volumes have since been written concerning him; his name has gone abroad through all lands; the world claims him as her citizen, and honours him as her only spotless hero. To tell, therefore, of his birth, his childhood, his riper years, or his fully developed character, would be to repeat that with which all have rejoiced to render themselves familiar. Yet as he enters upon

^a Sparks's *Life of Washington*, i. 370; Burk, iii. 173; Delaplaine's 21; Burk, iii. 171; Chalmers's *Revolt Repos.*, part ii. 82, 83; Smollett's *Am. Colon.*, ii. 265. *Contin.*, viii. 490; Frost's *Pict. Hist.*,

^b Marshall's *Washington*, ii. 3; i. 108.
Sparks's *Life*, i. 24; Grahame, iii.

the stage of active life, History instinctively pauses to gaze for a moment upon the man who is destined to confer upon *her* records, honour as imperishable as his own. Could she now call down upon him a ray of glory more brilliant than any that has yet darted on his name, she would win, by the deed, a most exalted triumph. But the task is vain. The name of George Washington may cause the heart of an American to beat with a quickened impulse, but it has already been placed too high in the temple of renown, to be farther elevated by the praise of mortals.

He held the rank of major in the colonial military establishment, and was already well known for his rare union of the virtues of zeal, prudence, and courage. Receiving from the Governor his instructions, and a passport bearing the broad seal of the colony, he left Williamsburg on the 31st day of October, and passing through Fredericksburg, Alexandria, and Winchester, he arrived in fourteen days at Wills' Creek, on the Potomac.^a This point is now known as Cumberland, on the great western route from Washington City to the Ohio: it was then nearly the extreme of European settlement. Beyond it were gloomy forests, ice-bound rivers, rugged mountains, and treacherous savages. There was enough in this prospect to daunt the boldest spirit, but it had no effect upon Washington, except to add caution to his firmness. His party now consisted of eight persons, among whom we find

^a Sparks's *Life of Washington*, i. 25.

Gist, the former agent of the Ohio Company. Over the frozen Alleghanies, with their summits covered with snow, and their valleys flooded by impetuous streams from above, the adventurers slowly made their way. Rafts were often constructed to cross the larger rivers, but they were useless in contending with mountain torrents. At length, after severe toil, they reached the point where the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers unite and form the majestic Ohio. The eye of Washington instantly saw the importance of this place. He determined that if possible it should be defended by a Virginia fortress; but he then little knew the fearful interest with which the passions of man were soon to invest it.^a

Twenty miles below the fork, they reached Logstown, a small settlement on the Ohio, and having convened as many Indian braves as he could find, Washington addressed to them a speech, telling them the object of his mission, and asking their assistance. Already the jealousy of the red men had been excited by the movements of the French, and Tanacharison, the Half King, had visited their fort, and with native eloquence had remonstrated against their intrusion.^b Finding their independence endangered, the Indians were disposed to look upon the English as guardians, and the Half King addressed the young envoy in terms of peace and confidence.

^a Outline, in Howe, 90; Sparks's Life of Washington, 26; Marshall's Washington, ii. 4.

^b The Half King's speech to the French commander, may be seen in Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 27, 28.

After a delay of a few days, Washington, accompanied by the chief and three other Indians, set out for the French post, which was one hundred and twenty miles from the Ohio. Persevering progress against many obstacles, brought him to the object of his mission. St. Pierre, the commandant, a knight of the military order of St. Louis, was already advanced in years, and added to the experience of the practised soldier, the courteous manners of the gentleman. He received Washington with politeness, and read the message of Dinwiddie with respect, but in reply declared that it was not for him to determine territorial rights and treaty obligations; that he would transmit the message to his superior, the Marquis Duquesne, then governing Canada, but that, in the mean time, he could not obey any summons to retire from his present position.^a

This answer might have been anticipated, and it was decisive of the question of peace and war. Although the French authorities treated Washington with marked respect, entertained him during his stay, and loaded his boat with wines and provision on his departure, yet they attempted to seduce the Indians from their duty, and to attach them to their own interest.^b The youthful envoy hastened back to report the result of his expedition. Difficulties

^a Burk, iii. 174, 175; Smollett's i. 88, gives St. Pierre's answer, in Contin., viii. 490, 491; Grahame, iii. a form more positive and less respectful.
370; Marshall's Washington, ii. 5; ^b Sparks's Washington, i. 30, 31.
Sparks's Life, i. 29; Outline, in
Howe, 91. Gordon, in his America,

and dangers surrounded him. Winter had locked the wilderness in chains, and excessive fatigue and exposure had reduced even the feeble force with which he commenced his journey. As we follow Washington in his perilous course—often on foot amid snows and tempest, once assailed by Indian perfidy, now struggling to regain his raft amid the waves of the Monongahela, where floating ice threatened his instant destruction—we tremble at the thought that a life so valuable should have been thus exposed. But he was shielded by the hand of One who already beheld and directed his exalted destinies. (1754.) On the 16th day of January, after an absence of eleven weeks, he reached Williamsburg, and delivered to the Governor the answer of St. Pierre.^a

Nothing now remained but to make preparations for war. The English government had advised the colonies to repel aggression by force; and when Washington's journal of his late embassy was published in London, it excited not only respect for its author, but a firm resolve to meet promptly the hostile approaches of France. Dinwiddie despatched messages to the other colonies, informing them of the crisis, and urging them to unite with Virginia in opposing the enemy's advance on the Ohio. North Carolina and New York promptly responded to the call, and prepared to send military

^a Sparks's Washington, i. 35. The journal of his expedition will be author of the Outline says, "sixteen weeks"—an error. Grahame, iii. 1–20, vol. ii. found in Marshall, Appen., note i., 370; Marshall, ii. 5. Washington's

forces to the threatened point. Other provinces were yet undecided. Some were not convinced of the danger; some believed it, but thought their own frontiers would require all the protection they could give. The Virginia Assembly voted ten thousand pounds for defence, by an act which bore an evasive title, "For the encouragement and protection of settlers on the waters of the Mississippi." Dinwiddie was greatly chagrined by this act, which he said intimated a doubt as to the title of his Britannic Majesty to the interior of his dominions; but he concealed his displeasure, and prepared for active war.^a

Six companies of provincial troops were raised, to be commanded by Colonel Joshua Fry, a native of England, and a gentleman much esteemed for his mathematical learning and his amiable character. Washington was second in command, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His brave spirit urged him to immediate advance; and two companies having been fully formed, he marched from Alexandria to Wills' Creek, on his route to the Ohio. Here he received startling intelligence: forty-one Virginians had commenced a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany; but, in the midst of their work, an overwhelming force of French, consisting of nearly a thousand men, in three hundred canoes, and with many pieces of cannon, the whole commanded by M. Contrecoeur, poured down upon them, drove them from the spot, took possession in the name of France, and com-

^a Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 39.

pleted the fort, which, in honour of the Governor of Canada, they called Fort Duquesne.^a

Washington's duty was now doubtful. Colonel Fry had not yet joined him, and his force was feeble compared with the numbers of whom accounts had just been received. But he was always ready to advance rather than retreat. Pushing on boldly through the wilderness, he hoped to be able to erect a fort on the Monongahela, at the mouth of Redstone Creek, in time to arrest the farther progress of the French. After crossing the Yohogany, he arrived at a spot well known as the "Great Meadows." The country was open and level, with little to obstruct progress except bushes and undergrowth, which were easily uprooted. Washington here halted for a short time, to gather advices as to the movements of the enemy.^b Friendly Indians joined him; and among them came Tanacharison, the Half King, from whom he received many evidences of affection and fidelity.

Learning that the French were advancing upon him with a force concerning which he could gain no definite knowledge, he moved cautiously forward, encamping at night with a strong sentry guard. After their invasion and capture of Fort Duquesne, he could not doubt their hostile designs, and he would have been guilty of unpardonable imprudence had he still looked upon them in any other

^a Burk, iii. 176; Sparks's Washington, i. 43; Gordon's Am., i. 89; Grahame, iii. 371; Smollett's Continuation, viii. 520.

^b The plate in Sparks's Washington, i., opposite page 56, will convey an accurate idea of the country forming the Great Meadows.

light than as enemies. When, therefore, he was informed that a small party had advanced near to his position, that they came with great secrecy, and that they had left the main route and were encamped in a dark vale, as if to secure concealment, he did not hesitate to prepare for the attack. (May 28.) Dividing his troops into two lines, he marched under the direction of Indian guides. A stormy night favoured his scheme, and at daybreak he had nearly surrounded the French, who, suddenly aroused from sleep, seized their arms. A simultaneous fire took place; the provincial troops rushed forward, and the French surrendered, having by the first discharge lost their commander, M. Jumonville, and ten of their number. One of Washington's men was killed, and three were wounded.^a Thus the first blood was shed in a war which has been not inappropriately called the "native of America,"^b and which speedily involved Europe and her dependencies in a conflict of more than wonted violence.

While the remainder of the regiment, of which the advance guard was commanded by Washington, prepared to join him, Colonel Fry died suddenly at Wills' Creek; and thus the whole responsibility devolved upon the younger officer. At the Great Meadows he was joined by two independent

^a Burk, iii. 177, and Marshall, ii. 7, say that M. Jumonville was the only person killed, but Sparks's account may be relied on. *Life of Washington*, i. 46, 47.

^b Smollett's *Continuation of Hume*, viii. 514.

companies, one from New York and another from South Carolina. The last was commanded by Captain Mackay, who held a commission under the English crown, and claimed precedence of the colonial officers; but though this absurd whim threatened for a season to produce disastrous results, the impendence of danger soon caused all to submit quietly to the superior genius of Washington.^a He directed a small stockade fort to be erected at the Meadows, which afterwards claimed for itself the title of Fort Necessity,^b and at the head of nearly four hundred effective men he turned his face resolutely towards Fort Duquesne. He had but just reached the foot of Laurel Hill, thirteen miles from Fort Necessity, when he was met by friendly Indians, who warned him not to proceed, assuring him, in the figurative style to which nature is always inclined, that enemies were approaching "as numerous as pigeons in the woods."^c Deserters confirmed this report, and the Half King and the Queen Aliquippa, from a tribe in the vicinity of the "Great Fork," by their eager admonitions left no room for doubt. A council of war was called. Many difficulties assailed them. Ill-timed parsimony, in their several provinces, had left men and

^a Gordon's Am., i. 89; Marshall's Washington, ii. 7; Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 51-53.

^b Grahame, iii. 371; Marshall, ii. 7.

^c Marshall, ii. 8; Burk, iii. 179. "Ab Indis amicis facti certiores fuerunt Gallos columbarum instar in

silvis, hostilemque in morem sedibus Anglicis instare." Vita Washingtonii, by Francis Glass, page 28. Mr. Reynolds is entitled to the gratitude of his country for having been instrumental in giving to her this unpretending volume, from the pen of a modest and devoted scholar.

officers without sufficient pay ; their bread was exhausted ; for six days they had not tasted this species of food ; other provisions began to fail, and their horses grew daily weaker from fatigue and famine.^a Under these circumstances it would have been madness to encounter in the open field a foe who outnumbered them in the proportion of three to one ; and it was unanimously resolved that they should return to the fort at the Great Meadows. (June 28.)

Here they strained every nerve to complete the stockade and to sink a ditch around it ere the foe should appear. Before these were finished, fifteen hundred French and Indians, commanded by M. De Villier, rapidly advanced, and seemed confident that superior numbers would secure to them an easy prey. But they were destined to disappointment. The mature judgment of Washington had been shown in the position of Fort Necessity. In the midst of an even meadow, and surrounded on all sides by a level surface, which extended more than two hundred and fifty yards without a point of concealment, it gave all advantages to the defence and none to the attack. As the enemy came up, they commenced firing at long distances, but their balls were thrown away ; and when they ventured nearer, they were singled out and cut down by the keen marksmen within the stockade, and in the ditch without. From ten o'clock in the morning until dark the engagement continued ;

^a Marshall, ii. 8 ; Sparks, i. 49-54 ; Burk, iii. 180.

during all this time Washington remained outside of the wall, encouraging his men, who were often sunk to the knees in mud and water.^a De Villier found that he had met a determined foe; already two hundred of his men had been killed or disabled, and yet no impression had been made on the stockade. To advance to the assault would have been rash, and would probably have been fatal to three-fourths of his remaining number. To conquer by famine was an uncertain means; he knew not the resources of the garrison, nor did he know how soon they might be relieved by reinforcements. Under these circumstances he demanded a parley, which was at first declined by Washington, from apprehensions of treachery; but when the demand was repeated, and an earnest message from De Villier requested that an officer should be sent out to him, for whose safety he pledged his honour as a soldier, the young commander no longer felt himself at liberty to refuse.^b

Captain Vanbraam, a Dutch soldier, who knew more of the art of fighting than of the niceties of the French language, was sent to De Villier. He was the only man in the fort then in condition to act as interpreter, yet was his ignorance so great as to be the means of injuring the fair fame of his

^a Burk, iii. 180, 181; Marshall, ii. 9; Sparks, i. 55. honouring; but I think he has here drawn upon his Irish imagination for.

^b Account in Sparks, i. 55, 56; Marshall, i. 9. Mr. Burk says the first proposals were rejected by Washington, because they were dis- a compliment to the young hero, iii. 181. Mr. Sparks quotes from Washington's Writings, vol. ii. 456.

commander in the eyes of a great and generous people. (July 4.) The articles agreed upon were highly honourable to the provincial forces. They were to retain all their arms, except the artillery; to march out with drums beating and colours flying; to preserve as much of their baggage as they could carry away; and to proceed, unmolested by the savages, to the frontiers of Virginia.^a Captains Vanbraam and Stobo were to be retained as hostages by the French until the return of certain prisoners previously captured, among whom was La Force, a character to be noted hereafter.^b Such were the terms of capitulation, as they were explained to Colonel Washington, who, being ignorant of the French tongue, was obliged to trust to interpreters. Whether De Villier designedly took advantage of this fact or not, we do not know; but it is certain that the articles contained a word, the import of which was appreciated neither by Vanbraam nor by his young commander; and its effect was to give to Washington the appearance of acknowledging that in the death of Jumonville, himself and his party had been guilty of deliberate murder!^c So artfully was this matter arranged,

^a Washington's Writings, referred to in Sparks, i. 56. Yet Chalmers speaks of this surrender as "a disgraceful capitulation!" Rev. Am. Col., ii. 269.

^b Burk, iii. 182, 183.

^c In the French draft of the articles this event was described as "*l'assassinat* de M. Jumonville,"

which Vanbraam explained as meaning simply "the death of M. Jumonville." In this form the paper was signed by Washington. Outline, in Howe, 94; Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 47-49; Marshall, ii. 10; Grahame, iii. 371, in note; Burk, iii. 183; Washington's letter, in Marshall, ii. Appen., 20-23.

that when accounts of the opening of hostilities reached Paris, profound emotion pervaded the public mind. Jumonville was looked upon as an assassinated hero. Washington was vilified as his murderer, and an epic poem was founded on the affecting tragedy! Many years passed away before the writers of France were willing to acknowledge the injustice done to a character that has since been the subject of some of their most splendid eulogies.

After the surrender of Fort Necessity, the provincial troops marched towards Virginia; and notwithstanding the engagement of De Villier, the savages were not prevented from resorting to their wonted attacks upon a disabled foe. They hung upon their rear, and constantly harassed them, destroying the feeble and threatening the bold.^a At length the regiment arrived at Winchester, having sustained a total loss of about seventy men. The Virginia troops suffered most severely. They were earliest in action, and never recoiled from the post of danger. When official accounts of the events of this campaign were received in Williamsburg, the Assembly passed a vote of thanks to Washington and all who had served under him, expressed their perfect content with their conduct, and voted three hundred pistoles for the supply of their immediate wants.^b This approval had been well merited. They had surmounted formidable difficulties, had kept a superior foe at bay, and even in defeat had

^a Marshall, ii. 11; Burk, iii. 186;

^b Burk, iii. 187; Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 57, 58.

secured to themselves a most honourable capitulation.

Governor Dinwiddie was wholly ignorant of military affairs; but, with the confidence often attending ignorance, he opened a plan for another campaign. Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, who was a favourite with Dinwiddie, was appointed to supreme command in the provincial army. He was a gentleman, but not a soldier, and his appointment gave small satisfaction. What he might have done in the field we know not, for events did not bring him into actual conflict. But Dinwiddie had magnificent ideas, and immediately ordered that the army, which, as now reinforced, did not number eight hundred men, should march from Winchester, again cross the Alleghanies, defeat the Indians and French, and capture Fort Duquesne.^a When Washington heard these mad orders, he was astonished and distressed, but without delay he repaired to the post of duty. To recruit troops without money, to march into a wilderness without supplies, to encounter the snow-storms of the Alleghany region without tents, and to defeat a daring foe without one-half his numbers; these were the Governor's commands, and he was surprised that they were not promptly obeyed. But the Virginia Assembly relieved the officers and the army from their dilemma. They refused to vote a supply of money for increasing the regiment.^b The Governor was vexed, and in an indignant message to the Assem-

^a Marshall, ii. 12; Sparks, i. 58; Burk, iii. 187.

^b Burk, iii. 188-190; Marshall, ii. 12; Sparks, i. 58, 59.

bly he expressed his displeasure at their conduct; but they adhered firmly to their purpose, and his plan for the campaign at once vanished into air.

Dinwiddie had none of the chivalrous feeling which ought to have existed in the bosom of a chief magistrate of the Old Dominion. He looked upon the operations of war with the crude views of a custom-house clerk; and his treatment of a prisoner, whom the laws of military honour required him to protect, evinced his meanness of spirit. Early in the last campaign, a Frenchman named La Force had been captured by Washington; and being suspected of having acted as a spy for his government, he was sent to Williamsburg, and carefully guarded. Nothing attaching special guilt to his case appeared; and in the capitulation at Fort Necessity, it was expressly agreed that La Force should be released from prison and permitted to return to his companions. Yet Dinwiddie refused to comply with this article, and Washington's remonstrances were vain. The captive was a man of inventive genius, of indomitable resolution, and of great bodily powers; and finding his liberty thus denied to him, he escaped from prison at Williamsburg, and sought to make his way to Fort Duquesne. So much courage merited success; but at King and Queen Court-house, he fell in with a backwoodsman, to whom his questions exposed his character. The sturdy Virginian instantly arrested him; and notwithstanding all his entreaties, he was conducted back to Williamsburg. The Governor's triumph was great; and with unmanly

rigour, he directed La Force to be laden with double irons, and chained to the floor of his dungeon. Washington renewed his entreaties for his release, and painted, in strong colours, the dishonour attendant on this conduct; but Dinwiddie was deaf to his prayers, nor was La Force ever enlarged until his persecutor left the colony.^a

In the mean time, the hostages Vanbraam and Stobo had been confined, without any unusual harshness, in Quebec. They too had broken prison, and Stobo succeeded in making his escape, but Vanbraam had fainted with fatigue, and was conducted back to captivity. Even then no retaliatory measures were adopted; the French governor was humane and generous, the English clerk was mean and vindictive.^b

During the winter, Dinwiddie received from England ten thousand pounds in specie for the expenses of the war. This would have been liberal, had it not been accompanied by orders instructing him to place the whole provincial force on the footing of independent companies, and to assign corresponding rank to their officers. The effect of this was, to reduce all superior officers in the colonies to the grade of captains, and to make them subordinate even to those holding the same nominal rank in the regular army.^c The high spirit of George Washington could not brook this unjust

^a This account is taken from Burk, iii. 182, 192, 193. It is substantially repeated in the Outline, in Howe, 94.

^b Burk, iii, 194; Outline, in Howe, 95.

^c Sparks, i. 60; Burk, iii. 191, 192; Marshall, ii. 13.

degradation. He had been first in danger and in suffering, had led soldiers to victory, and had preserved them from death; and to be now reduced in rank, and placed beneath the captains of the British service, was a descent to which he would not submit. No man who can appreciate the feelings of an honourable soldier will blame his course. He immediately resigned his commission and returned to private life.

(1755.) England now made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in America. Early in the spring, two regiments of troops from Ireland arrived in Hampton Roads, and they were soon followed by the *Sea-Horse* and *Nightingale* ships of war, giving convoy to transports for soldiers and military supplies. The whole assembled at Alexandria, which presented the most eligible point for their subsequent operations. Major-General Edward Braddock was the commander. He had won fame on the plains of Europe, and came to gather fresher laurels amid the forests of America. He was brave, but imprudent; rigid in discipline, but inexperienced in the duty now before him. He was too haughty to be beloved. His officers were repulsed by his austerity; his men were alienated by his excessive rigour. Ere he left England, the Duke of Cumberland had warned him that he must not expect amid the wilderness the regular fighting and manœuvres of European tactics, and had specially urged him to beware of surprise and ambush.^a But Braddock despised

^a Smollett's Continuation, viii. 540, 541, chap. iv.; Gordon's Am., i. 95.

his enemies, and believed that compact columns of grenadiers would instantly put them to flight.

Having learned enough of Washington to induce a strong wish to secure his services, the commander-in-chief urged him to accept the place of one of his aids. Burning with desire to serve his country, when he could do so without a compromise of honour, Washington complied with this request, and asked only a short time to arrange his private affairs before joining the army.^a The whole force moved from Alexandria in April. Two complete British regiments in admirable condition, and several bodies of provincial troops, comprised a total of nearly two thousand five hundred men. Braddock commanded in chief, and under him were Colonel Dunbar and Sir Peter Halket. Without difficulty they reached Wills' Creek, where a fort had been erected under the eye of Colonel Innes, which had received the name of Cumberland, in honour of his warlike highness. Here an unexpected delay awaited them. The Virginia contractors had not supplied the requisite number of wagons and teams for transporting the baggage, and precious days were lost ere this defect could be remedied.^a General Braddock was wrought up to a paroxysm of rage by this disap-

^a Marshall, ii. 14; Sparks, i. 61, and that Braddock should have contracted with the Pennsylvanians. 62.

^b Dr. Smollett says that the Virginians were well supplied with water conveyances, but were deplo- Contin. viii. 539. Probably he is right. See Marshall, ii. 14, 15; Burk, iii. 196, 197; Sparks, i. 62; rably destitute of land carriages, Marshall's Am. Colon., 291.

pointment, and it required all the philosophy of Benjamin Franklin to restore him to good humour. This great man then held the office of postmaster-general in the colonies, and by active exertions he succeeded in obtaining from the Pennsylvania farmers one hundred and fifty wagons, which were immediately placed under the control of the commander-in-chief.^a

But the principal difficulties were yet to be encountered. Beyond Fort Cumberland was the wilderness of the West, with its mountains and ravines, its thick forests and matted undergrowth. Roads were to be traversed along which man had seldom passed; and so rugged was the way, that often they could only advance by doubling their teams in front, and continuing this tedious process to the last wagon of the train. Their line often extended to four miles in length; and, while thus attenuated, an attack on the flank or rear would have been almost certainly fatal. Washington had advised, that, for conveying the baggage, pack-horses should be used, instead of vehicles; but his counsel was at first rejected, and was at last but partially applied. Thus the army crept forward so slowly, that three days after leaving Fort Cumberland it had gained but ten miles. This torturing delay, together with his constant exposure and fatigue, preyed upon the health of Colonel Washington, and he was prostrated by a violent fever, which threatened a fatal result. (June 15.)

^a Sparks, i. 62; note, in Burk, iii. 196.

He was no longer able to keep the saddle, and a covered wagon furnished the only practicable mode of conveyance. Even in this state, his mind continued to dwell upon the affairs of the army, and his advice was still sought by his superior officers. He strenuously urged that the heavy baggage and a part of their force should be left behind, and that a select body should push rapidly forward to Fort Duquesne. His reasons were sound. The French were reported to be yet weak at this point; but powerful reinforcements were expected, and would arrive as soon as the waters of Le Bœuf were swelled by summer rains.^a Each moment of delay rendered the success of the English more doubtful.

A council of war approved this plan, and General Braddock hastened to carry it into execution. Colonel Dunbar, with the heaviest part of the baggage, with the troops least fitted for active service, and with such stores as could be left, remained in the rear. A select corps of twelve hundred men, taken from the two regiments, and embracing nearly all the provincial forces, was detailed for the advance. They carried on horses all the baggage absolutely necessary, and they were instructed to divest themselves of every thing that would impede a rapid march. General Braddock commanded in person, and under him were Sir Peter Halket, now an acting brigadier, Lieutenant-Colonels Gage and Burton, and Major Spark.^b

^a Marshall, ii. 16; Burk, iii. 198; Sparks, i. 63, 64.

^b Marshall, ii. 17.

As long as his increasing indisposition would permit, Washington continued with the commander-in-chief. He told him of the danger from ambush, and urged him to employ all the friendly Indians who offered themselves, as scouts for the army. Had this been done, surprise would have been impossible; for these men of the forests would have detected each concealed party, and warned the English in time to preserve them. But Braddock received the natives with coldness, and though he accepted some of them, he was so forbidding in his demeanour, that they became disgusted, and, one after another, they left him to his fate.^a This was the first omen that portended the coming storm.

Washington saw, with deep regret, that the advanced corps did not push forward with the zeal that would have insured success. Edward Braddock could not sacrifice the dignity of regular tactics, to a regard for American warfare. Every mole-hill must be levelled; each insignificant brook was to be spanned by a bridge. Not far from the Little Meadows, the fever of Washington became so violent that his life was in hazard, and he was compelled most reluctantly to obey Braddock's commands, and remain in camp until he was in some degree restored.

His last counsel was, that rangers, selected from the provincial troops, should be employed to scour the woods in advance of the army, in order to

^a Sparks, i. 69, 70; Outline, in Howe, 98.

guard against the deadly ambush of the savages.^a But no such precaution was adopted. Slowly the troops made their way through the rugged paths leading down the slope from the Alleghanies to the Ohio. So deliberate was their progress, that four days were employed in marching the nineteen miles which intervened between the Little Meadows and the Shallows, near the mouth of the Yohogany.^b

Here, on the 8th day of July, Washington rejoined the army, and entered upon his duties as aid to the commander. His fever had left him, but his strength was not fully restored, and nothing but an unconquerable spirit could have prepared him for the scene that followed.

Braddock gave the command for crossing the river. A glance at the map will convey a correct view of the route. Fifteen miles above Pittsburg, where Fort Duquesne then stood, the Monongahela makes an ample bend, commencing at a point immediately below the mouth of the Yohogany River. The road along the northern margin of this bend was rugged and circuitous, and to avoid it, the General determined to cross the Monongahela twice in a direct route to the French fortress.^c On the morning of the 9th the army was in motion, and passed the river without interruption. Those who were eye-witnesses of the scene have told us that one more brilliant and picturesque

^a Gordon's America, i. 95; Grimshaw's U. S., 85.

^b Marshall, ii. 17; Burk, iii. 199.

^c Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 65; Outline, in Howe, 96; Chalmers's Revolt Amer. Colon., ii. 275.

has seldom been presented. The British troops were in full uniform, and traversed the woods of America with the regular step of the parade ground. Their bayonets glittered in the sun, and the flash of warlike steel contrasted strongly with the deep and peaceful verdure of the forest shade. The Monongahela flowed tranquilly on their right, the road seldom departed from its borders, and on the left were trees of primitive growth and magnificence, among which the woodman's axe had never been heard.^a The men were in high discipline, and their spirits were already excited by the hope of soon entering in triumph into Fort Duquesne. Three hundred regulars, under Colonel Gage, formed the advance, and a similar body of two hundred followed at a short interval. Next came the artillery, under the General in person, and these were followed by the provincial troops, the main body of the army, and the baggage train. By one o'clock, the whole had passed the second crossing of the Monongahela, and were ascending the slope from its banks, within seven miles of their proposed point of attack.^b

At this moment a terrible fire was opened upon the vanguard by hidden foes, in the long grass and ravines around them. Not an Indian or a Frenchman could be seen, but their weapons poured death upon the defenceless ranks of the regulars. Volley after volley was heard, and every shot told with

^a Washington himself often spoke of this scene. Sparks, i. 65.

^b Sparks, i. 65, 66; Grahame, iii. 396; Burk, iii. 201.

fatal power among the English troops. Amid this destructive storm the grenadiers halted in confusion and returned the fire, but obviously without effect. Brave men may be stricken with fear when assailed by a novel and concealed danger. As their numbers were thinned by each successive discharge from the enemy, the regulars lost all presence of mind, and falling back in dismay upon their comrades, involved the whole army in distress and disorder. General Braddock was among the bravest of the brave, but his efforts to restore courage to his troops were utterly in vain. Instead of resorting to a mode of warfare suited to the forest, and directing his men at once to seek the enemy with the bayonet, he attempted to form them into even platoons and solid columns, as though he were manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. The result was most appalling. Crowded together in masses, in which each man did but encumber his fellows, the regulars kept up a wavering fire, wholly ineffective as to the enemy, and often fatal to their own comrades and officers. Upon these masses the French and Indian sharpshooters poured in continuous volleys, not one shot of which was thrown away. The English were cut down in scores, and it soon became evident that their total discomfiture was at hand.^a

In no battle in modern ages has there been a greater loss of officers, in proportion to the number

^a Grahame, iii. 397; Burk, iii. 202; Sparks, i. 66; Marshall's Am. Colon., 292, 293.

engaged, than among the English in the slaughter of the Monongahela. The French had drawn up their forces in the shape of a crescent, in the grass and ravines across the route, and flanking parties of Indians extended along the whole line of their enemy's array. Had Braddock ordered up his ten pieces of light artillery, he might have raked the wood with grape-shot, and given time to his troops for recovery from their panic.^a But the army officers, although possessed of dauntless courage, had no experience in forest warfare. The Indians knew them by their brilliant uniforms, and, singling them out as marks for their deadly rifles, brought them down one after another, until of eighty-six who had crossed the river with their regiments in the morning, but twenty-three remained unhurt.^b Sixty-three were either killed or wounded. While this drama of death was in progress, the Virginia troops alone retained their courage and capacity. Abandoning all attempts to keep close order, they spread themselves in the wood, and from the shelter of trees returned the fire of the enemy. Yet no part of the English army suffered more than these brave provincials. "They fought like men, and died like soldiers."^c Of one company of twenty-nine, twenty-five were killed. Of another, commanded by the gallant Polson, a single private was the only survivor. Captain Peronny, who had been with

^a Grahame, iii. 397; Smollett's Continuation, viii. 541, 542.

^b Sparks, i. 67.

^c Burk, iii. 205.

Washington at the Great Meadows, was killed, and with him fell every officer of his command, even to the lowest corporal.^a Thirty men were all that remained from three full companies of Virginians who had gone into battle.

On this disastrous day, Washington displayed the courage of a hero, and the conduct of a general. Two aids of Braddock had fallen, and on the young colonial officer devolved the hazardous duty of distributing his general's commands. As he galloped through the battle-field, his horse received a mortal wound, and sunk beneath him. Another was immediately supplied, but was shot under him before the retreat commenced. Four bullets pierced his coat, yet not one inflicted the slightest wound.^b An eye-witness in the conflict, watched his motions with thrilling interest, expecting each moment to see him fall to the ground.^c A savage chieftain marked him, as he rode again and again through the field, and, drawing his rifle to his shoulder, took deliberate aim, and fired. The ball swerved from its course: the intended victim was unharmed. The fire was repeated, but with like result. Calling his red men around him, the warrior pointed out the young brave, whose life he sought, and directed their rifles upon him. But every shot was

^a Marshall's *Life of Washington*, ii. 20; Burk, iii. 205.

^b Washington's Writings, in Sparks, i. 67. "Equi duo quibus insidebat glandibus plumbeis suffossi fuere: quatuorque glandes

plumbæ per tunicam transiêre: at-tamen incolumis evasit." — *Vita Washingtonii*, F. Glass, 33. Burk, iii. 205; Frost's *Pictor. Hist. U. S.*, ii. 112; Marshall, ii. 18.

^c Dr. Craik, in Marshall, ii. 19.

harmless. The savages desisted, in superstitious fear; yet were they just in their reasoning. A greater Spirit than they had ever worshipped preserved the future Liberator of America.^a

But his unhappy general was not thus protected. Already three-fourths of his officers had fallen. Sir Peter Halket was stricken down by the first fire, and, a few moments after, the secretary of Braddock, and son of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, fell by his side.^b For three hours the carnage continued, but the commander remained untouched. He exposed his person to the hottest fire, and used every exertion to restore confidence to his panic-stricken troops. Three horses in succession fell under him, and at length a musket-ball pierced his right arm, and, passing through his lungs, inflicted a mortal wound.^c Washington hastened to his relief, and, with Captain Stewart, of the Guards, brought him off in safety from the

^a The incident here mentioned is perfectly well authenticated. See Washington's Writings, in Sparks, ii. 475, Appen., and Sparks's Life of Washington, i. 68, 69, in note.

^b Smollett's Contin., viii. 542; Grahame, iii. 398.

^c Smollett's Continuation, viii. 542; Grahame, iii. 397. An opinion has long prevailed in Pennsylvania, that Braddock was either accidentally or intentionally shot, by one of his own men. The evidence for this belief does not satisfy me; but the reader may himself examine it,

in Howe's Hist. Collec., 97, and in note to Sparks, i. 68. No man has ever doubted Braddock's courage; but it is absurd in Chalmers, to attempt to defend his *generalship* in this battle, and in the measures preceding it. He says, "The fame of Braddock has been unjustly sullied, partly by ignorance and partly by design. The manner of his march showed the skill of an able general." Revolt Am. Colon., ii. 276. Mr. Grahame is better authority than Chalmers.

field, that he might escape the Indian scalping-knife, and die among his friends.^a

From this moment, the rout of the English army was complete. The regulars broke from their ranks and fled in dismay towards the river. Artillery, ammunition, baggage, colours, all were abandoned to the enemy; and it is probable that this circumstance alone preserved the defeated troops from total destruction. The savages revelled in the plunder spread before them, and the French could not persuade them to leave the field and join them in pursuit.^b But for this, the unhappy English might have met the same fearful fate which, nearly one hundred years afterwards, annihilated an army amid the mountains of Afghanistan, in Asia.^c Few would have survived to tell the tale of death. Yet this thought will afford but melancholy consolation, when we look to the actual loss of the battle of the Monongahela. Twelve hundred men, in buoyant health, had crossed the river, and not more than two hundred returned uninjured.^d Of the French and Indians, it is supposed that not more than forty were killed,

^a Burk, iii. 203; Marshall, ii. 19. Grahame says, he was carried off by Colonel Gage, iii. 397. Smollett says, by "Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, and another of his officers," viii. 542. But the American authorities are best on this point.

^b Marshall, ii. 19; Grahame, iii. 398.

^c Lieutenant Vincent Eyre's Narrative, pp. 4 and 74, 75. Of seventeen thousand souls, originally composing this army, not more than one hundred and sixteen escaped.

^d The loss is stated by Mr. Sparks, as sixty-three officers and seven hundred and fourteen privates, killed or wounded, i. 67.

and it is probable that each one of these fell under the fire of the provincial forces.

The army retreated to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock breathed his last. The panic diffused itself even through the troops who had not been in action. A rapid and ruinous retreat was continued. All their heavy baggage was abandoned, or else was burned by order of they knew not whom; the artillery was left; the public stores were destroyed; and the retrograde march was not arrested until they reached Wills' Creek, nearly one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. So fatal a battle had seldom been followed by a flight so long and so disheartening.^a

Thus ended the expedition of Edward Braddock against Fort Duquesne. Had his hopes been less, and his fears greater, he might at least have avoided defeat, if he did not achieve victory. But years elapsed before officers bred in Europe learned the dangers of Indian warfare. Colonel Dunbar feared for his safety even in Winchester, and in a short time led the remnant of his army to winter quarters in Philadelphia.

Genuine merit often shines more brightly because surrounded by darkness and adverse fortune. The Legislature of Virginia voted three hundred pounds to Colonel Washington, and proportionate sums to the other colonial officers and

^a Smollett's *Continuation*, viii. 542. When Dr. Smollett wrote, Xenophon had retreated from Cunaxa, but Napoleon had not fled from Waterloo.

privates who had displayed so much heroism in the battle of the Monongahela. All could see that had Washington been chief in command, a triumph might have been hoped for the British arms. He gained rapidly in the confidence and affections of his countrymen. Even the pulpit spake his praises, and one of the most eloquent of American ministers named him as an object for the respect of Christian patriots.^a The Governor, notwithstanding his partiality for Innes, could not resist the appeal of facts in favour of the younger officer. The appointment of commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces was tendered to Washington; but before he would accept it he prescribed indispensable conditions, among which were the nomination of his own officers, and a guarantee for the prompt supply of military stores and of payment to his men. These terms were instantly accepted; and they bear in themselves the highest testimony to the worth of him who could secure them.^b The General Assembly voted forty thousand pounds for public exigencies, and increased their regiment to sixteen companies.

(1756.) These movements were not premature, nor was the office of Washington one without responsibility and hazard. Already rumours of savage incursions were borne from the west. The defeat of Braddock had left the whole frontier exposed, and alarm pervaded every family of the

^a Sparks, i. 71. This was the
Rev. Samuel Davies.

^b Burk, iii. 209; Grahame, iii.
399; Sparks, i. 72, 73.

Shenandoah Valley. Washington had arrived at Fredericksburg, on his way to the seat of government, when intelligence reached him which called him back to Winchester. Large bodies of Indians from the Ohio crossed the Alleghanies, and spreading themselves into small parties, carried desolation and death into each defenceless homestead. They gave no quarter, and spared neither age nor sex. Women and children were chosen objects of their barbarity. Many were left weltering in blood on the floors of their own dwellings. Many were carried into the wilderness, to be put to death with nameless tortures. A few survived to return, after years of degradation and suffering, passed among native tribes on the Ohio and the Northern Lakes.^a

In reading of these assaults, we find it difficult to believe that the red man of the American forests is indeed the courageous being that he is sometimes represented to be. It is not easy to separate the ideas of generosity and true courage, in conceiving the character of any man; but in the savages we find nothing that does not excite disgust and contempt. To maltreat woman has always been the characteristic of the coward; and woman has been universally maltreated by the Indian. To torture the unhappy child, and to glory in his agonies, can evince nothing but a thrice-degraded nature; and such has been

^a In Kercheval's *History of the Valley of Virginia*, 93-104, will be found narratives of these incursions. Indeed a large part of this interesting work is occupied in telling of Indian cruelty.

the course of the Indian.^a To fly before an inferior force of brave men is the act of a craven; and it has been invariably done by the Indian. To resort to perfidy, falsehood, mean duplicity, is conduct which nature pronounces dishonouring; and in this has been the chief pride of the Indian. As we trace their steps in their attacks upon the people of the Valley, we know not whether to detest more their remorseless treachery or their base cowardice. Weakness they crushed, but a single manly spirit often held them at bay. One noble woodman of Shenandoah has gained a right to immortality, by slaying five armed savages with the clubbed barrel of his rifle, after the stock had been shivered on the head of the sixth. The Indians fled with horror from his house, believing him to be the Great Author of Death, and warning all their compeers to avoid him.^b

So great was the terror caused by these attacks of the savages, that many of its inhabitants forsook the Valley, and fled to counties east of the Blue Ridge.^c Even after the termination of hostilities between the English and French, the Indian murders continued from time to time, until the year 1766, when they were suspended on the immediate Virginia frontier.

^a A case of this kind, which I would not describe except under compulsion, is detailed in Kercheval, 106, and repeated in Howe's Hist. Collec., 468.

^b His name was Samuel Bingham. Kercheval, 115, 116, and 118.

^c Kercheval, 91; Burk, iii. 212.

But when Washington arrived at Winchester, all was confusion and alarm; women flying from their homes—children saved only to tell of butchered parents—houses burned to the ground—agriculture totally ruined: such were the sights which now marred the face of the Valley, of late so lovely and tranquil. The heart of the young commander-in-chief was deeply moved by these ills, and his emotion was not diminished by the thought that he could not entirely avert them. His despatches at this time are written in a strain of sadness and eloquence, to which nothing but profound feeling could have urged him; and they present him to us as an ardent lover of his country and of his species.^a

(1757.) Under his direction, and with the aid of Lord Fairfax, the proprietor of the Northern Neck, who was county lieutenant of Frederick, a strong fort was built at Winchester, and stockades were erected at various points, in which the inhabitants took refuge when attacked, and where a military force always kept guard. The General Assembly had formed an extensive scheme for a cordon of forts running along the whole line of the Alleghanies, from the Potomac River to the boundary of North Carolina; but Washington did not approve

^a One well-known passage shall be here quoted: "The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I

could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." Sparks, i. 80; Burk, iii. 214; Outline, in Howe, 100.

of this design. It was very expensive, and afforded no adequate protection, for the forts would of necessity be far removed from each other, and the savages might pass unmolested between them. Yet he obeyed instructions, and had drawn a plan for twenty-three forts along the mountain ranges. He was indefatigable in his exertions, and at the hazard of his life he visited the western and southern frontier to provide for its safety.^a Already he appears in a character which was afterwards fully developed in the most self-sacrificing patriotism the world has ever seen.

Lord Loudon had been appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America in the place of Governor Shirley, and in honour of him the fort at Winchester received his name. Although Virginia had heard of his appointment with pleasure, and though one of her finest counties will perpetuate his memory within her borders, yet in common with other colonies, she soon learned that her admiration had been premature. With much conceit and with little knowledge, imperious in manner, yet undignified in action, his lordship ruled in America only long enough to render himself contemptible in the two worlds, the old and the new. That he was no general, may be inferred from the fact, that small success and many reverses attended his military operations; that he was habitually dishonest, is declared with emphasis in his mean insinuation that Benjamin Franklin had

^a Sparks, i. 85.

amassed money by speculation upon the funds in his charge as post-master-general of the colonies.^a Loudon could not believe that a receiving and disbursing agent of government could resist temptation. Bankrupt in principle himself, he had no sympathies in common with an honest man.

His lordship established his head-quarters at Philadelphia, where a military convention assembled in March to consider the best mode of conducting the war. Washington attended, and was received with marked respect. He had drawn up an address to Loudon, in which he gave a brief history of the cause of hostilities since their commencement in Virginia, and with the strength and clearness of a mind perfectly acquainted with its subject, he presented a plan for future operations. He strenuously advised an attack on Fort Duquesne. Had this counsel prevailed, and had a sufficient force been given to Washington, he would have driven the savages from the frontiers, have captured the French fortress, and have broken the enemy's power on the Ohio, in a single campaign. But discouraging delays were yet to prevail. It was determined that the principal attack should be on the lakes and the Canadian borders, and that in the mean time Virginia must be left to her own resources.^b

(1758, January.) Early in the succeeding year, Governor Dinwiddie left Virginia to return to

^a Grahame, iv. 1, 2; Franklin's Memoirs, in note, page 2.

^b Sparks, i. 88; Outline, in Howe, 101.

England, where he intended in future permanently to reside. The Assembly said nothing, but the Council and the municipal authorities of Williamsburg took upon themselves the duty of delivering an address to the Governor, expressing "esteem and respect."^a His departure was regretted by few. His activity had seldom been well directed; his zeal had been generally without knowledge. If he had detected fraud in his superiors in the West Indies, he was himself justly charged with extortion, in exacting a pistole for issuing each patent for land. So unjust was this demand, that the Assembly protested against it in solemn form, and one of Virginia's most gifted sons pleaded the wrong before the King in council.^b It is not to the credit of Dinwiddie that his interest was sufficient to overpower the colony, and that this iniquitous claim was confirmed by the King. In another affair, his character was lost beyond redemption. Twenty thousand pounds had been appropriated by England to repay to Virginia her advances for the public service. Dinwiddie received this fund, and never accounted for its expenditure. He has been openly accused of having diverted it to his private use; and this charge has never been answered, either by himself, or by others in his be-

^a Burk, iii. 222.

^b This was Peyton Randolph, at that time attorney-general of Virginia. Delaplaine's Repos., ii. 109. Chalmers attempts to defend Dinwiddie, and in so doing throws out

an injurious insinuation against Randolph. Revolt. Am. Colon., ii. 351, 352. He says the "Privy Council recommended a compromise."

half.^a Until it is refuted, its stain will rest upon his memory.

John Blair, the President of the Council, succeeded to the government in the colony. He was active and decided in his measures, and under his auspices public affairs were skilfully administered. Eight hundred men were ordered into service by direction of Lord Loudon. An Assembly was convened, which embraced many of the ablest men Virginia has ever produced. We read their names with reverence, and already find among them the magnanimous supporters of American freedom in a struggle not yet commenced.^b The Governor delivered to them a spirited address, urging the pressure of the war, and asking their aid, which was promised, in terms not less marked by patriotism than by prudence and foresight. When Francis Fauquier arrived from England, in June, and assumed the reins of government, he found a people and an Assembly equally willing to uphold his hands in each measure required for the safety and honour of his charge.

At the same time a most auspicious change had taken place in the ministerial rule of the mother country. William Pitt could no longer be kept from the place to which his own great genius, and the love of his countrymen, united to raise him. The moment his mighty hand grasped the helm,

^a Burk, iii. 223; Outline, in Howe, Chalmers is ominously silent on the subject.
101. Mr. Campbell, 124, 125, doubts

the Governor's guilt, but mentions ^b The list of members may be seen in Burk, iii. 223, 224.
the charges without refuting them.

it seemed as though the heavens began to brighten and the storms to lose their power. He infused vigour and confidence into every department of government, and seized, with intuitive readiness, upon the best means for securing the noblest objects. He had long believed that Europe was not the field in which the strife between France and England was to be decided,^a and when he attained to power, he took prompt measures for directing a formidable force against the strongholds of the enemy in America. Unwonted animation every where prevailed, and it was soon manifest that the next campaign would produce results of the highest moment.

An attack on Fort Duquesne was the duty assigned to the southern division of the English forces; and General Forbes commenced a march from Philadelphia, for the execution of this purpose. Colonel Bouquet, with a strong advanced guard of two thousand men, was sent to Raystown, in Pennsylvania, about thirty miles from Wills' Creek, and in a short time Washington received the cheering order to march at the head of the Virginia troops from Winchester, and arrive as early as possible at Fort Cumberland. The Assembly acted with great promptness on General Forbes's requisitions. Money was voted, bounties were offered for enlistment, and in a short time two regiments were raised; one commanded by Colonel Byrd, and the other by Washington in person,

^a Grahame, iv. 15.

who was commander-in-chief of the whole colonial force.^a In consequence of severe indisposition, General Forbes did not reach Raystown until the middle of September.^b Here Washington learned, with surprise, that the commander was yet in doubt whether to approach Fort Duquesne by the old and well-known route, known as "Braddock's Road," or to try a new road, leading more directly from Raystown, and that he seemed inclined to prefer the latter. He used every argument that he could devise, to determine General Forbes in favour of Braddock's Road. It had been carefully prepared; it lay through a country where forage was abundant, and though it crossed mountains and defiles of formidable character, yet the former passage of an army had, in great measure, overcome these obstacles. The new route was liable to all the objections to the first, and it added to them the disadvantages of continuous forests, of roads yet to be prepared, and of unknown localities. Notwithstanding all his remonstrances, Forbes resolved in favour of the road from Raystown. It is not easy now to decide whether his judgment was founded in wisdom, or whether it was the result rather of his strong desire to please the people of Pennsylvania. It is certain that Washington's predictions of delay were fulfilled, and that no-

^a Sparks, i. 92. See Delaplaine's and Campbell, 126, say that General Forbes did not leave Philadelphia

^b Sparks, i. 93-97, Burk, iii. 226, before November. They are in error.

thing but accident gave final success to the expedition.^a

Without further debate, the new road was cut to Loyal Hanna, a point forty-five miles from Raystown, where a fort was erected, and where Colonel Bouquet took post with his efficient vanguard. It had saved one farther scene of death had the whole army now advanced. Eight thousand men, in fine order, and warned by the disasters of Braddock, would have surrounded Fort Duquesne and compelled a capitulation ere it could have been relieved by forces from the Lakes. But a bloodless victory was not awarded. From Loyal Hanna, Major Grant, with a chosen company of eight hundred men, was despatched to reconnoitre the fort and obtain information as to the best mode of attack. (Sept. 24.) In the night he gained a hill near the fork of the two rivers; and detaching Major Lewis with a rear-guard, he advanced near the fortress, and sounded a morning "reveille," as though with express design to draw the enemy upon him.^b Profound silence had reigned in and around the point; not a voice had broken it, not a leaf had been stirred, and Grant seemed rashly to hope that a triumph awaited him. But at the first sound of the drum, the gates of the fort were opened, and, with terrific war-cries, a hive of savage

^a Mr. Burk thinks Washington erred in judgment on this point, iii. 228; but higher authorities believe otherwise. Marshall, ii. 60, 66, 68; Sparks, i. 95-98.

^b Marshall, ii. 67; Burk, iii. 230; Campbell, 127.

warriors poured out upon the invaders. Ere the men could draw their rifles to their shoulders, the foe was upon them, and strokes of the deadly tomahawk were felling them to the ground. The assault was so sudden and violent, that the English forces seem to have lost the power of resistance, and instead of a conflict, the view was speedily one of ferocious butchery. Every blow was fatal. No quarter was given by the savages. French soldiers had followed them from the fort, and to them alone did the few prisoners who survived owe their safety. Major Grant was attacked by an Indian armed with a tomahawk already reeking with blood, and would have been killed, had not a French officer arrested the blow and taken him captive. At the first sound of battle, Major Lewis had hastened forward with his company, leaving a guard of fifty Virginians, under Captain Bullet, to protect the baggage. But this accession could not turn the tide of victory. The gallant Lewis was himself surrounded by foes, and after striking one dead to his feet, he saved his life by reaching a detachment of French, to whom he surrendered himself a prisoner of war.^a

A deed of heroic courage and of consummate skill, preserved the remains of the army. When Captain Bullet saw the course of the combat and the approach of the savages, he formed his plan, and imparted it to his companions. Stratagem in war has received the direct sanction of a Divine lawgiver;^b

^a Burk, iii. 231; Grahame, iv. 31;
Marshall, ii. 67.

^b Joshua, viii., 1-22, with Matthew
Henry's comments.

and if ever stratagem was justifiable, it was in the case we are now to record. The Indians advanced in a tumultuous band, eager for fresh victims. With muskets heavily loaded, the Virginians presented themselves, and, lowering their arms, made signs of submission, and approached the foe. Already hatchets were raised to meet them with death; when Bullet, in a voice of thunder, commanded his men to "charge;" and, instantly levelling their guns, the Virginians poured upon the savages a fire at eight yards' distance, which swept down many of their numbers. A furious rush with presented bayonets followed this fire; the savages gave way on every side; and believing that a strong reinforcement was at hand, they did not cease their flight until they reached the main body of the French near Fort Duquesne.^a Hastily collecting the remnant of the army, Bullet directed a retreat; and after a march of infinite hazard and fatigue, he rejoined the main body at the camp at Loyal Hanna.

It would be difficult to find in history the record of a more brilliant achievement than that of Bullet, or of one more worthy of the approval of the brave and the honourable. Governor Fauquier promoted the hero to the rank of major, and ever afterwards spoke of his conduct in terms of warm admiration. He had saved the larger part of the army under Grant, yet their loss had been severe. Nineteen officers were killed or captured. Two hundred

^a Burk, iii. 232; Campbell, 129, The account given in Howe, is al-
130; Grahame, iv. 31, 32; Marshall, most verbatim from Campbell.
ii. 67; Outline, in Howe, 162, 103.

and seventy-three privates were killed, and forty-two were wounded. Few survived as prisoners. Indian warfare seldom offers any prospect other than that of victory or death.

The main army, under General Forbes, advanced from Loyal Hanna, over a road hastily constructed, and nearly impassable. Mountains and defiles, streams and forests, alike opposed their progress; and the melancholy fate of prior armies warned them to move with ceaseless caution. The provincial troops were employed in the appropriate duty of ranging; and Washington, at the head of his Virginians, gained daily in the esteem of the commander-in-chief by his vigilance and success. A singular collision occurred near Loyal Hanna, in which friends turned upon each other the weapons intended for the savages. Washington had attacked and defeated a body of Indians, of whom he made several prisoners. Colonel Mercer, of the second Virginia regiment, approached during the night, and, seeing the Indian captives, mistook the party for enemies, and ordered his men to fire. Ere the mistake was discovered, several volleys had been exchanged, and fourteen men were killed or wounded.^a

As the army drew near to Fort Duquesne, sad vestiges of previous conflict on all sides met their eyes. Whitening bones strewed the forest where the battle of the Monongahela had raged, and often a ghastly skeleton recalled to the soldier the thought that many whom he had known had fallen here.

^a Burk, iii. 234; Campbell, 132.

Nearer to the fort, the unburied bodies of the victims who had fell in Major Grant's defeat, were exposed to view. Savage cupidity had in many cases despoiled them, and savage malice had exhausted itself in mutilating the defenceless dead.^a Already dispirited by a laborious march through the wilderness, the English troops were but too well prepared to yield to the depressing influences of such recollections, and had stern resistance been made to their approach, it would probably have resulted in success.

But an easy victory awaited them. The Indians had taken alarm at the advance of a large force, attended with all precaution. Supplies had not reached them from Fort Frontenac, for already that post had yielded to the British arms.^b One by one, the warriors withdrew, believing that the Great Spirit had deserted their French allies, and that defeat and disaster would soon arrive. Finding that resistance would be vain, cut off from all prospect of aid, and menaced by a greatly superior force, the French, now reduced in numbers to five hundred men, set fire to the fort in every part in which it was combustible, and proceeded down the Ohio in order to gain their posts at Presque Isle and Venango. (Nov. 25.) A mine, prepared ere they left the fortress, exploded as the English drew near, and before the burning fragments had been extinguished, Colonel Washington entered the wall at

^a Grahame, iv. 32; Burk, iii. 235; Campbell, 132.

^b Grahame, iv. 31.

the head of the advanced guard, and planted the British standard upon this long-contested ground.^a Immediately repairs were commenced, a garrison of provincials was assigned for its custody, and the name of Fort Pitt paid a well-earned tribute to the genius of the great man, to whose vigilance and energy his country owed this important conquest.

To the triumph of bloodless victory succeeded the sadness impressed by the discharge of a melancholy duty. The General and the army were alike moved with desire to collect the mouldering remains of those who fell in Braddock's defeat, and consign them to a soldier's grave. Guided by Indians who had deserted from the French, and many of whom had been actors in the tragedy of the Monongahela, a chosen number of provincial troops entered the forest and approached the field of battle. It is not difficult to believe all that an eye-witness has related of the solemn interest of this scene. In profound silence they trod the withered leaves, which were already falling before the blasts of winter; around them on every side were the bleaching bones of men who had left the soil of Britain to die amid the forests of America. Wild beasts had already visited the field, and many fearful signs gave proof of their ravages. Among

^a Burk, iii. 236. Mr. Burk's account would induce the belief that the fort was regularly invested by the English, and that shells were fired into it before the French deserted; but in truth General Forbes did not resolve to advance to the

walls until he was informed by prisoners that the garrison was too weak to resist, and the French left it the day before his arrival. *Grahame*, iv. 32; *Sparks*, i. 101; *Marshall*, ii. 69.

the visitors who felt most keenly the emotions excited by this valley of death, was Major Halket, who had mourned the loss of a father and a brother, both slain in the conflict. An Indian guide had told him of the fall of a veteran officer and of the death of the heroic young subaltern, who had sunk across the body of the first as he stooped to his assistance. Now a thrilling discovery was to be made. Two bodies were found, the one lying upon the other; when the uppermost was removed, Major Halket drew near, and with feelings that would baffle description, examined the other body. A false tooth for which he sought, instantly revealed the dead. With a single cry, "It is my father!" he fell back into the arms of his companions.^a

Gathering together the remains of each victim that could be found, the soldiers proceeded to commit them to one common tomb. The hearts of all who participated in this solemnity were bowed with awe and sorrow. Even the Indian warriors looked on in profound stillness, regarding the service as a religious observance to which they owed silent veneration. The genius of one who has described it, has detected in this scene a resemblance to the discovery made by the army of Germanicus amid the forests of Europe; but the mouldering remains of a whole Roman legion, who fell when the light of Divine truth had not yet gilded the tomb, could

^a Galt's *Life of West*. For the extract here relied upon, I am indebted to Mr. Grahame, note iii. vol. iv. 483, 484.

not excite in the bosoms of their comrades the awful interest felt by the few who now gave Christian burial to the slain of the Monongahela.^a

With the fall of Fort Duquesne ended the war between France and England, as far as it could be waged on the frontiers of Virginia. General Forbes returned with his army to winter quarters in Philadelphia, and a short time after his arrival, worn down with fatigue and suffering, he expired.^b George Washington retired to Mount Vernon, nor did he again draw his sword, until it was unsheathed to make war, in defence of liberty, upon the very nation whose honour he had often nobly upheld. But though Virginia was no longer the theatre of actual conflict, she looked with absorbing interest upon the progress of war in the northern colonies, knowing that she could not escape the conflagration unless it was there arrested.

It would not be proper to trace, with minuteness, the course of the memorable campaigns of 1758 and 59. They belong to American history, and

^a Mr. Burk gives a translation from Tacitus, but I have thought it best to present a passage in all the original force which the master mind has imparted. "Prima Vari castra, lato ambitu et dimensis principiiis, trium legionum manus ostentabant: dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisæ jam reliquiæ consedisce intelligebantur: medio campi albertia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant disjecta vel aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque

artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora: lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis ejus superstites, pugnam et vincula elapsi, referebant, 'hic cecidisse legatos: illic raptas aquilas: primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum: ubi infelici dextra et suo ictu mortem invenerit.' " Taciti Annalium lib. i. lxi. 38; edit. Lipsiæ, 1829.

^b Grahame, iv. 33; Sparks, i. 101.

will never be forgotten; but they have only an indirect bearing upon the fate of the Old Dominion. Again an expedition was prepared against Cape Breton and Louisbourg, and the prize which had been so lightly yielded was reconquered by England, to be surrendered no more. Abercrombie crossed the placid bosom of Lake George, with a glittering array of soldiery; but his incompetence was soon apparent, and nothing but the capture of Fort Frontenac by Colonel Bradstreet, the able subaltern of a feeble commander, could have atoned for the disgrace of the British arms. (1759.) In the succeeding year, intense activity pervaded the forces intended to operate in America. A great soul in the mother country directed their movements, and inspired them with one common purpose. Amherst marched against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and reduced them successively under his control. Prideaux embarked upon Lake Ontario, and attacked the French fortress at Niagara. He fell a martyr to his zeal, but he had done enough to insure success, and his brave troops completed the triumph they would willingly have shared with himself. And the young General who ascended the Heights of Abraham, added the crowning stone to the column of English victory in America. Wolfe and Montcalm both fell upon the field of battle, but the one in death could rejoice in view of his country's triumph, and the other could only breathe the wish of a hero, that he might not see the fall of the glory of France upon the American continent.^a

^a Grahame, iv. 55.

Every where England was victorious. On sea and on land, among the isles of the western world and in the East India domain, in the Mediterranean and on the frontiers of Canada, she enjoyed a continued course of success and conquest. Spain was humbled, and France desired peace. William Pitt had retired from the direction of public affairs in his country ; but the result of his measures now appeared, and England, as she has too often done, gained the benefit of labour for which she had then bestowed but meagre gratitude. Noble commissioners from the two rival kingdoms met at Fontainebleau in 1762, and agreed upon the articles of a treaty, which was definitively concluded at Paris early in the following year. (1763, February 10.) If Aix-la-Chapelle had brought dishonour to Britain, the Treaty of Paris more than atoned. She gained a full title to Nova Scotia and Canada, to Cape Breton and Louisbourg, to the St. Lawrence and all its adjoining islands. She divided the Mississippi with her rival by a line running down its middle through the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. She resigned Havana to Spain, but received in return the beautiful region known as the Floridas, with the town of St. Augustine and the port of Pensacola. Avarice might have been sated with her gains, and ambition content with her glory.

Thus the civilized world was once more at peace. Virginia partook of the common blessing, and made it the source of other advantages. Her population had rapidly increased, and notwith-

standing the late war, her progress had been onward. If she had not grown evenly with some of her sisters of the North, she had at least not fallen far beneath them. Her hand was watched to point the way to future greatness. Already principles had found advocates upon her soil, which were destined to diffuse themselves throughout the western world, and to teach man that he was born for higher destinies than any which had yet befallen him. She was not yet aware of the struggle that was approaching, and in which she was to fill so conspicuous a part; but changes were in progress within her own bosom, which were silently preparing her for the decisive hour. Her infancy, her childhood, even her youth had passed away; and as the impulses of maturity began to manifest themselves, she slowly learned from them the high duties to which she was summoned. Upon her history, for a season, the curtain must now fall; but when it shall rise again, it will be to present her raising the voice of eloquence, wielding the pen of learning, and shedding the blood of self-sacrifice in the sacred cause of a nation's liberty.

